A Comparative Study of Lithuanian and Russian Linguistic Practice and Identity

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Trolio žvakelė

Trolis uždegė žvakelę
Seno miško pakrašty.
Šen, balti žiemos vaikeliai,
Balto gandro atnešti.

Prie žalių ledinių kūdrų
Varvekliukų skambesy
Pažiūrėti trolio burtų
Susirinksime visi.

Jau kankorėžis nupuolė
Ir išsiskleidė delne...[8]

(extract with an illustration from the poem „Troll‘s Candle“ of the famous Lithuanian poet Janina Degutyte (1928-1990))

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background for the choice of the theme

I grew up in one of the Republics of the Soviet Union – Lithuania – and experienced all the paradoxes of this system. Luckily for me my country had a strong policy on preserving its own language, so that even if everything was Sovietized and Russification had its usual profound impact, we still had Lithuanian schools, literature, theater and books.

In the former Soviet Union, because of the destructive language policy, 50% of the native languages died out (Crystal, 2005). Fortunately the Lithuanian language remained viable. It was used in schools, private life and some official spheres. Lithuanians had Lithuanian schools in which all subjects were taught in Lithuanian, while the Russian language was taught from the 5 grade. However, more serious graduate studies or documents needed to be written in Russian. Following secondary school, all boys had to join the Soviet army for two years, where only Russian was used. The best movies and TV shows were in Russian. One simply couldn't survive without the Russian language. And I, like most citizens of the Soviet Union who were not Russian, grew up bilingual and bicultural.

On the other hand, Russians didn't have to learn Lithuanian. They had their own schools, and all news was available in their own language.

Even after Lithuania regained its freedom in 1990, I met many Russians who had lived their whole lives in Lithuania and could not speak a word of Lithuanian. In later years when I was teaching Contemporary Lithuanian Language at Vilnius College of Higher Education, I observed that Lithuanian Russians had great difficulties with Lithuanian, even though they were born in Lithuania, grew up in Lithuania, and had parents who had also lived their whole lives in Lithuania! However, this situation is now gradually changing (Ramoniene, 2010).

When I moved to Norway five years ago and started to work in a Norwegian school, I found, quite amazingly, different situation. The Russians I met had learned Norwegian very quickly, and because we were surrounded by Norwegians, when I tried to speak Russian with some of them during the break in our teachers' room, they refused.

When a child could speak a small amount of Norwegian, most of the Russian parents did not want to have "morsmål or tospråkligopplæring", even though their teacher was thinking the opposite.

Lithuanians, on the other hand, always took the opportunity to speak their mother tongue, and even when their children could speak perfect Norwegian and follow the usual teaching program in Norwegian schools, asked for mother-tongue teaching (*morsmål* or *tospråkligopplæring*).

These observations aroused my interest. I thought that the differences between Lithuanians and Russians in language choice and use might be caused by a different feeling and understanding of national identity in a foreign environment. So I decided to examine this hypothesis.

Later, when this work was almost done and I was presenting parts of it at workshops and conferences[12], I was very pleased to find that this was a topic of great interest to others as well.

1.2. Goal of the study and research questions

The goal of this study is contribute to a better understanding of how a sense of belonging and national identity of Russians and Lithuanians families in Oslo is constructed through the language of utterance. I am interested in finding out the relationship between the sense of belonging, national identity and linguistic practices (choice of language and language use), and how these factors affect each other in two different languages and cultures.

I will investigate this by comparing the language practice of two different cultural communities in Oslo, and by looking at the formation of national identity among Russian and Lithuanian speakers from the post-Soviet diaspora. The study will try to develop a deeper understanding of the culture of each group, and the people's linguistic behavior within the context of that culture.

The research raises questions that are relevant for understanding the situation of immigrants and choice of their language in today's Oslo.

The research questions of this study are:

- How does the attitude towards Norwegian and the language of origin influence the linguistic practice of Russian and Lithuanian families in Oslo?
- What is the relationship between the sense of belonging, feeling of national identity and linguistic practice (language choice and language use) of Russian and Lithuanian families in Oslo? How does one affect the other?

1.3. State of the art

Even though Russians and the Russian language in general is of interest in Norway, and it is possible to find a lot of written material about it, there has not been so much research into Russians' present lives, maintaining their culture and identity in Norway, especially in Oslo. As to Lithuanians, there is very little information about Lithuanians at all. There are almost no studies in the sociolinguistic field about Lithuanian and Russian migrants in Norway.

I have found only two studies about Russian language use: E. Bjugn's (2001) thesis about Russian and Filipino women's language use, language choice and social networks in Kirkenes, and J. Ratikainen's (2006) master thesis about language use and childrearing in cross-linguistic Norwegian-Russian families in Norway.

I have been unable to find any research about Lithuanians' language use and choice in Norway.

While there are many stereotypes about migrants, there is, in fact, little known about who the migrants are, what they think, or how they perceive themselves. Further studies of Lithuanian immigrants and their identities would defeat the stereotypes and show the complexity of migrant life.

1.4. Structure of the research

The research consists of eight chapters.

- Chapter two describes the theoretical framework for the study and goes further into the explanation of language use and choice, construction of identity and family's effects on it.
- In Chapter three I explain the implementation of data collection and the research methodology.
- Chapter four describes the informants' personal background and the linguistic background – the linguistic competence (understanding, reading, writing, speaking).
- Chapter five describes language policy and ideology in the informants' country of origin.
- Chapter six concerns the relationship between informants' nationality and their feeling of national identity.
- Chapter seven discusses the informants' language use and language choice: the habitual language choice, code switching and borrowing, and some important factors that may affect it.
- The last Chapter eight consists of a summary, conclusions of the results from the study and perspectives for future research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

> By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, everyone after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.
>
> (Bible, the book of Genesis 10:5)

Land, language, family and nation – four important ingredients of nationalism and so for understanding the feeling of national identity – will be discussed here. In this Chapter the essentialist and constructionist approach to identity, language attitude as the major factor of language choice and language use, the family's effects on language variation and the

notion of national identity in the light of migration will be presented. At the end some relevant research in this field will be described.

According to John E. Joseph (2004), no one claims to be an essentialist today. Nor will the author of this study will do so; instead I will concentrate more on a constructionist approach, since I feel a constructionist approach best explains all points of our changing global society. However, in carrying out this research J.E. Joseph's remark that there "must remain space for essentialism …or we can never comprehend the whole point for which identities are constructed" (John E. Joseph 2004, p.90) will be kept in mind.

In our case, both the reorganization of the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries in 1989-91 and then opening of the borders for former Soviet Union countries have contributed to a strong awareness of the fluidity and arbitrariness of nationality, and therefore also of national identity. For participants of this study (as thousands and thousands of other immigrants) this had such a big impact that the traditional understanding of national identity as something imposed by birth or early circumstances and remaining unchanged thereafter doesn't fit for them anymore.

This fact enforces us to study their identity in a constructionist light, as something they construct throughout their lives.

> Identity involves not only 'sameness' but by extension 'otherness'. In knowing who we are like we also know who we are not like, and this sense of identity is dependent to some extent on an understanding of boundary, where that with which we identify stops. Hybrid identities clearly go beyond ordinary notions of boundary, as individuals cross some boundaries to join others. The invention of the nation-state had already persuaded people to identify with something in addition to the traditional social structures of family, clan and religion. However, this could be seen as expansion into ever-lager units radiating like concentric circles with the individual in the centre, the family as a part of the clan and the clan as part of the nation/ethnic group. (Gubbins, P., Holt, M. 2002, p.6)

2.1. Constructionist approach to identity

In the last decades there have been two approaches to language and identity in work – essentialism and constructionism. An 'essentialist' approach is one in which categories such as nationality, gender and so forth are taken as determinate given, in terms of which

linguistic behavior can be analyzed. Even though this approach was dominant until the 1990s, it coexisted with the 'constructionist' approach, which understands identity as flexible, created and constantly changing in the course of interaction constructs.

H. Fink (1991) has developed a semantic model of the identity concept where he attempts to explain the opposition between essentialism and constructivism. It is a triangle of numeric, generic and qualitative identities, which are separate but at the same time mutually dependent on one another. None of them can stand alone. From this model we can clearly see that an individual's identity consists of both permanent and changeable elements. *Numerical identity* suggests that something through his existence is the same as itself - unlike other all things. Numerical identity helps to give meaning to the concept of identity-change because it provides a fixed point in relation to what is changing. *Generic identity* is when something is the same as something else: the same kind of class, character, type or category, as distinct from other classes, types or categories. *Qualitative identity* is when something is like something else or links in one or more specific ways, unlike other things that are not similar in that particular way.

Fink (1991) emphasizes that much of what we call identity is identity-awareness and sense of identity. Varying awareness about our own identity is made up of degrees of our numerical, generic and qualitative identities. According to Fink (1991) identity is both fixed and changing. Every individual always has a diversity of identities – an identity complex.

Unn Røyneland (2005) writes that based on this theory about identity, the language one learns as a child is part of the individual's numerical identity, as it is something one has received without even having chosen it, and it was learned more or less automatically. One can choose to use one of the languages or not, but they will still be considered a part of the individual's numerical identity, in the sense that it is something one has had, which is part of individual's numerical identity and part of the individual's language history. On the other hand, language is part of the generic identity, as the language places individuals into categories or groups together with other individuals of the same kind. At the same time, language is part of an individual's qualitative identity, because some individuals resemble each other in a certain way by

speaking the same language, dialect or register; however, these people can be very different on a number of other ways as well.

In this study N. Mendoza-Denton's understanding of identity will be accepted, where identity means the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs (Mendoza-Denton, 2002). Linguistic behavior will be understood as a set of acts of identity in which people negotiate both their personal identity and their search for social roles. For a better understanding how this works in practice I will describe Mendoza-Denton's article (2002) about language and identity in more detail.

Mendoza-Denton (2002) outlined three broad types of studies based on: (1) sociological category-based identity, (2) practice-based identity, and (3) practice-based variation. A relevant example of Type 1 would be Myers-Scotton's (1993) study on how a change in code might signal a different identity, where a switch indexes a different set of social rights and obligations; or Gal's (1978) study which revealed how women in a Hungarian-German bilingual community selected the prestige language. Other similar studies of interest are Baugh 1999, Johnstone and Bean 1997 and Michaels 1992). All of these showed that socio-historical and ideological factors should be carefully considered in studies of identity.

Concerning Type 2, it is, for example, Le Page (1985) findings that are of interest for this study. He found that individual users deploy varieties of language to affiliate themselves with groups with which they would like to be associated, or to be distinguished from groups with which they don't want to be a part of. "Identity holds that individual users of language strategically deploy varieties and variation to affiliate themselves with groups which they may from time to time wish to be associated, or conversely, to be distinguished from groups with which they wish no such association" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, p. 14).

Mendoza-Denton emphasizes that Type 3 studies "seek to focus on variation as practices unfold, identifying the use of symbolic variants in the moment-to-moment dynamics of interaction … track the shifting identities of speakers as interaction progresses, affording researchers a closer look at the microdynamics of indexicality in variation as well as processes of performance, achievement, and construction of identity" (Mendoza-Denton 2002, p. 489). An example of this type of qualitative research is

Labov's (1969) study of language and ethnicity on the logic of Black English. Another interesting study is that of Johnstone and Bean (1997), where they show that speakers could choose how they sound in order to identify themselves with some groups or individuals, and that this choice expresses one or more identities. Schiffrin (1996) looked at narratives of Jewish-Americans and drew the conclusion that there are no single-identity speakers.

We can explore the shifting and negotiated nature of social identities within talk, as well as the values attached to the different codes by their speakers as social identities are made manifest through talk: the actual language, 'code' ('we-code' and 'they-code'), and the content and context (Sebba and Wootton, 1998). The majority language, the 'they-code', is associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations, whereas the minority language, the 'we code', is associated with in-group and informal activities. They are not a determinate given, but open to transformation (Joseph, 2004; Grosjean, 2010; Baker, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2002).

Anna de Fina (2003) argues for the existence of a variety of modes of emergence of identity within discourse. The first mode is when narrators use particular linguistic devices such as first person singular or plural pronouns to refer to themselves, employ or switch between linguistic codes. They then convey their identities by adhering to telling norms and styles that are shared by other members of their communities. Secondly, when narrators use particular accents, impersonate, imitate, use a different voice, or imply other kinds of devices that allow them to express footings, they perform identities. Finally, the third mode is when narrators adopt identification strategies for themselves and others as characters in the story-world, or when they critically present characters as breaking social rules. Then they accept, contest and discuss their identities.

The Russian language philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) thinks that individuals receive their identity through participation in the cultural community, group or groups. In this participation, language is an essential tool since language connects us intimately together with other people.

John E. Joseph claims that language and identity are ultimately inseparable. The researches in several areas of sociolinguistics, social psychology and linguistic anthropology point to the central importance of the language-identity nexus (Joseph,

2004). The entire phenomenon of identity can be understood as a linguistic one. Language varieties are indexical of a speaker's origin or of aspects of their identity. They express a persons' identity and are a marker of it. However, Theis Endresen (1997) describes the languages situation in Scandinavia and the language situation in Africa and argues that there is a very weak, or maybe no, correlation between nations and languages, and that ethnic groups are not necessarily defined on a linguistic basis:

> In the real world, language is not very useful in defining a nation or an ethnic group. It seems, however, that in the mental category 'nation', language plays a central role. The reason is without doubt that the concept 'nation' started out as the central idea of a special ideology, nationalism, one of whose central claims is that every nation has its own language … There is no doubt that, in the ideal case, language is an important constituting element of the definition of the term national identity. The only problem is that there are so few ideal cases outside our minds. (Theis Endresen 1997, p. 236)

What kind of correlation exists between our target groups' national identity and language will be examined later in this study.

2.2. Language attitude as the major factor of language choice and language use

It seems that language attitude can best explain the personal choice and use of language. One of the authors who writes about the language attitude F. Grosjean (1982) concludes that "language attitude is always one of the major factors in accounting for which languages are learned, which are used, and which are preferred by bilinguals" (F.Grosjean 1982, p.127).

When two languages are in contact, one is usually considered more prestigious than the other. The prestige language is considered as more beautiful, more expressive than the other language. F. Grosjean notes that negative or positive attitudes toward a language can have profound effects on the users of the language (F. Grosjean 1982, 2010): 1. The majority or dominant language is learned by the majority and the minority groups, but the minority language is learned only by members of that group; 2. Learning of a first language is reduced when parents attempt to speak only the prestige language with their children to aid their fluency in it; 3. Negative attitudes towards a language affect its everyday use — speakers of the language may refuse to speak it in public, and a

child or adolescent can turn away from the native language and refuse to speak it with her or his parents. Among themselves bilingual speakers may choose a particular language so as not to stand out from the people around them — this especially happens in communities with negative attitudes toward a minority language; 4. The use of less prestige or stigmatized language may reinforce the group's positive values and symbolize solidarity for them.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) note that success in learning a second language depends most on the learner's attitude toward the other linguistic group, his or her willingness to identify with that group and the need to communicate with members of the group, but not so much on learner's capacity to learn a language.

The social psychologist Howard Giles (1977) found that when one person encounters and makes judgments about another person based on how he or she speaks, the way of judging that person's speaking typically changes in response to these judgments. Giles argued that speakers tend to converge (to adopt similar styles) or diverge (to speak differently) when they want to reduce or increase their social distance respectively. One of the dimensions of such convergence or divergence in bilingual communities is choice of language (Giles 1991). This theory was named 'Speech Accommodation Theory', later broadened to 'Communication Accommodation Theory'. 'Accommodation' is seen as a general phenomenon, applying both in monolingual and bilingual communities: speakers will accommodate using all linguistic resources that are available to them. J.E. Joseph explains that "what linguistic accommodation means for language and identity is that it is not simply the case that I have one linguistic identity and that it is somehow essentially bound up with who I 'really am'. When I accommodate, I become 'someone else' linguistically, based on my perception of the person I am accommodating to. The latter point is particularly important: what I accommodate to is not another person, but the identity I have constructed for that person" (Joseph 2004, p. 72). We see that speakers may use language to express their own identities and relations with others. Language accommodation is linked to social status, language attitudes and prestige of the language.

The process of choosing which language to use is called language choice, and the language chosen is called the base language. From many studies of language use we can see that the habitual language choice is important. In many cases speakers choose to use a certain language associated with a certain context, for example, certain settings such as office or school, topics such as occupation or education, groups of interlocutors, and so forth. Fishman (1965) writes that some topics are better handled in one language than another, either because the speaker has learned to deal with a topic in a particular language, the other language lacks terms for a topic, or because it would be considered strange to speak about that topic in that language. Grosjean understands language choice as "the act of speaking itself, is a well-learned and complex behavior whose extreme complexity only becomes apparent when it breaks down" (Grosjean 1982, p. 145).

A good example of complex language choice and use is the evidence from urban communities in Africa that suggests that patterns of language choice vary according to speakers' social backgrounds and the types of interactions they engage with. Most urban Kenyans use their mother tongues at home or with others in the community from their own ethnic group. From Carol Myers-Scotton's (1993) research in Nigeria and Kenya we can see that the mother tongue is important as a means of maintaining ethnic identity and in securing certain material advantages.

Another relevant study is that of Li Wei (1998) in the Chinese community in England. He found different types of code-switching there: 1. Switching between conversational turns (when one speaker uses Chinese and another English), often found in interactions between speakers with different levels of ability and/or attitudes toward the two languages; 2. Switching within a speaking turn, but with sentence boundaries; 3. Switching between constituents in a sentence.

Myers-Scotton (1993) have distinguished 'unmarked' (the language used is one that would be expected in the context) and 'marked' (the language used would not normally be expected) language choices. Marked switching can be used to enlarge social distance between interlocutors, express authority or anger. She described four code-switching patterns in her African data: 1. Code-switching as a series of unmarked choices between different languages, when aspects of the context such as a change in topic or in

the person addressed make a different language variety more appropriate; 2. Code-switching itself as an unmarked choice, when the use of both languages is meaningful, drawing on the associations of both languages and indexing dual identities; 3. Code-switching as an exploratory choice, when the unmarked choice is uncertain (uncertainty about an interlocutor's social identity or clash of norms); 4. Code-switching as a marked choice.

F. Grosjean (1982) describes more reasons for code-switching as well: to fill a linguistic need for a lexical item, set phrase, discourse marker or sentence filler; to continue the last language used; to quote someone; to specify the addressee; the quality of the message: to amplify or emphasize; to specify speaker involvement (personalize the message); to mark and emphasize group identity (solidarity); to convey confidentially anger or annoyance; to exclude someone from conversation; to change role of the speaker: to raise status, add authority, show expertise.

One of the most discussed issues on the subject of code-switching is the difference between code-switches and borrowing (Poplack 2000, Hamers and Blanc 2000, Myers-Scottons 1990, 1993, Grosjean 2010). Some scientists, such as Poplack for example, claim an absolute distinction between the two phenomena, while others, such as Myers-Scotton, argue that it is difficult to find a clear and unambiguous distinction between borrowings and code-switching. The definition of these terms is dependent on the theoretical framework the rearcher uses (Lane, 2006). If one sees code-switching as an alternational model, there is a tendency to absolutely distinguish between these two phenomena. If one sees code-switching as an insertional model, code-switching and borrowing are understood as points on a continuum.

I will take an alternational view and will make an absolute distinction between these two categories, since the linguistic features of Lithuanian and Russian languages makes it possible to draw a clear line between code-switches and borrowings (more in Chapter 7).

This will be the point of view that is represented by Shana Poplack, who describes code-switching as the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent (Poplack, 2000). She categorizes code-switching according to the degree of

integration of items from one language (L1) to the phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns of the other language (L2) (Poplack, 2000). If an item from L1 is not integrated into the patterns of the base language, or integrated only phonologically or syntactically, it is considered to be code-switching.

F. Grosjean (2010) also takes a similar position. He defines code-switching as the alternative use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation. He notes that code-switching can involve a word, a phrase, or a sentence/sentences. Code-switching is different from borrowing a word from the other language and integrating it phonologically and morphologically into the base language. In code-switching there is a total shift to the other language; the switched element is not integrated.

2.3. The family's effects on language variation

The fields of discourse analysis and gender studies illustrate that the family is an influential context for the construction of national identities. We can set the hypothesis that the emergence of parental patterns into the child's language depends on his or her degree of identification with the family, and that the child is the expression for competing adult identities.

M. Andersen (2002) understands the child as a boundary, where boundaries are conceptual 'zones' for reflection on 'who one is' and 'who others are':

> The child in the bicultural family is a boundary, an embodiment, a symbolic condensation of family identity and transnational movement. The children in the scenarios recounted present a meeting point of cultural incongruities, a junction for adult complexes of belonging. As a zone of reflection and for contention about culture, the child is the field on which adult relationships and identities are played, made and broken, continually constructed, de- and re-constructed. The bicultural home comprises not only culturally different pasts but, as the comments of the adults and children illustrate, highly conflictual ones – at least potentially. They are pasts and cultures brought into domestic conflict by transnational movement. (Andersen 2002, p. 123)

K. Hasen (2002) sees the family as an intermediate grouping between the individual and the speech community. Within the family, two possible influences could be demonstrated with family language variation patterns: transfer of patterns from child to parent, or transfer patterns from parent to child. Some parents may try to win the

affection of their children by identifying with them. There are four family pattern types by which the children may vary in relation to their parents and the community: 1. Children may pattern with the parents; 2. Children may pattern with the community; 3. Children's patterns may lie in between the parents and the community; 4. Children in a family may be split: one child may pattern with the parents, another one with the community, or they could lie in between the parents and the community in different ways.

From different studies (Chomsky 1995, Roberts and Labov 1995, Wilson and Henry 1998) we can see that no child copies exactly the same language variation patterns as the parent, nor creates a separate language from the language or languages of their parents. Daly (1983) notes that family members, as members of the same community of practice (CofP), allow the sociolinguistic patterns of their families, but these sociolinguistic patterns may compete with other CopPs they are members of, for example, friends, clubs, and so forth.

K. Hazen (2002) summarizes current research results relating to the family's influence on language variation:

1. Children first acquire the language variation patterns of their immediate caregivers; these patterns will survive if reinforced by the language variation patterns of the children's peer groups.
2. Family variation patterns will be noticeable to the extent that they differ from community norms. If family traits, be they lexical items or phonological patterns, are not social markers, there is no reason to assume that peer group influence will necessary counteract those traits.
3. Complex phonological patterns require early and extended input to be fully acquired by the child.
4. Language-variation-pattern differences between older and younger siblings of the same family are not unusual. They may be the result of different parental input or different social connections in the community, and thereby different opportunities for identification with and participation in CofPs.
5. Among families, the children of families recently immigrated to a community may demonstrate more family-oriented language variation patterns. The effects on the children may vary by age and the relative prestige of the family's variety versus that of community.

(K. Hazen 2002, p.518)

Studies about childrens' construction of their language and their interaction with parents, caretakers and peers go back to the nineteenth century and reached a high point in the 1920s and 1930s (John E. John 2004, p. 86). Both J. Piaget (1929) and L. S. Vygotsky (1962) made a significant contribution to constructionism. However, Vygotsky is not yet talking about social construction of language, but is focused on the individual emitting speech. Later, J. Bruner (1983, 1990) welcomed the ideas of R. Jakobson and N. Chomsky, developed links across academic disciplines and went further by emerging as the key figure in the constructionist approach. He claimed that language is a systematic way of constituting realities and continued to investigate the construction of the realities through language. He understood language as something the individual constructs, as a story about himself as an individual.

To close let us briefly discuss the notion of 'mother tongue'. For immigrants' children, who are born and/or grow up in different country than their parents, this term is ambiguous, and many researches choose to use 'first language' and 'second language' notions instead. In general, 'mother tongue' is understood as the dialect or language that one grew up speaking at home. It is used in the home, other private spaces and contexts which are the least penetrable to objective observation (Joseph 2004). I have chosen to use the notion of 'mother tongue' in my thesis, because it is exactly mother tongue, or parent's native language, that is of interest to me.

2.4. National identity in the context of migration

Despite the prognoses of Marks (1949, 1960) that the nations of the world would fall one after another, like ripe apples, into communist internationalism (which was definitely expected, and intended, in my research's target countries as in the rest of the Soviet Union, of course), nations and nationalism would always exist. For the enlightened 'socialist tomorrow' (the common phrase in the Soviet Union to express the expected socialist perfection), the existence of the nation, like religion and 'rotten' capitalism, was an unnecessary phase. Marks (1949) was of the opinion that the working class should put their international interests first, and that would best ensure their national interests.

James G. Kellas (1998) notes that the Soviet Union, or USSR (The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), was composed of over one hundred ‘nationalities’, and this term was preferred there to ‘national’, for political reasons.

> This term was officially preferred there to ‘national’, for political reason. ‘Nations’ in communist ideology are linked to nationalism, with the possible break-up of the state, while ‘nationalities’ are expected to have predominantly cultural aspirations. Neverthless, the titular nationalities of the fifteen Soviet republics<…>were able to claim that they ought to be ‘nation-states’, and broke away from the USSR on that basis. (James G. Kellas 1998, p. 3)

The impact of this ideology on the languages in our target countries – Lithuania and Russia – will be discussed later in Chapter 5.

Concerning the 'nation', I must say that there is an ambiguity in the meaning of this notion. Theories that best describe nationhood have changed through the centuries along with changing societies. Today, in the days of globalisation and increasing migration, those theories that consider the national state as deterritorialized (since migrants continue to stay a part of the state even when they live outside the country (Bash, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc 2005)) and describes the transnationalism phenomenon, seems the most convenient. Transnationalism is seen as a person's social, economic and cultural interests not occurring in the same space; as the two-way mobility of knowledge, skills, resources and personal identity. Combining multiple societies in one social space, transmigrants rework their relationships with more than one society (Glick-Schiller, Bash and Blank-Szanton 1999).

As the nature of this study is linguistic, Fichte’s approach to language as the outstanding point in defining the nation and Anderson’s aprioristic approach to language seem very convenient.

Fichte’s definition where he writes that language most clearly defines the nation is:

> Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds of nature herself, long before any human art begins; they understand each other and have the power of continuing to make themselves understood more and more clearly; they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole... men dwell together – and, if their luck has so

arranged it, are protected by rivers and mountains – because they were a people already by a law of nature which is much higher. (Fichte 1968 [1808], p. 190-191)

It is definitely necessary to mention Anderson's (1983) aprioristic approach to language within identity, his definition of the nation as an imagined political community and trope of *'we'-ness* on which the imagined national community is built (Anderson 1983). Despite Hobsbawm's (1990) critique on Anderson's theory as granting language too much influence, and using national languages as though they were a constant, this theory remains valid. It is relevant for some countries, Lithuania and Russia for example (see Chapter 5), and this fact keeps Anderson's theory worthy of interest.

Today it is fashionable to talk about the end of the nation-state (Gubbins and Holt 2002). The opinion is that a nation-state is either too small to work efficiently in a globalised economy or too large to be democratically accountable, but Gubbins and Holt (2002) point to the border changes seen in Europe over the last few decades, and draw conclusions about the continuing partition of political units along ethnocultural lines with languages as one of the most important factors in national identity, along with religion and shared history.

Of course the notion of nation is very complex, consisting of a lot of elements, of which a language is only one. For example, J.G.Kellas describes a nation like this:

A nation is a group of people who feel themselve to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture and common ancestry. Nation has 'objective' characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent<…>and 'subjective' characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it. (J.G.Kellas 1998, p. 3)

We can divide these components of national identity into: ethnic (unity of the culture and origin), social (cultural and social unity, often in the territorial context), and the official or civil (territorial and political unity) (J.G.Kellas, 1998). It is interesting that Šutinienė (2006), investigating Lithuanian national identity, comes to the conclusion that in the process of the construction of Lithuanian national identity only two components are left – the language and territory.

Emigrants always experience the tension of retaining and (re)establishing their national identity. Actors representative of official political context, such as school, family, country or media, lead to identity changes of individual social groups – identifying with or conversely separating themselves from the nation (Dauksas, 2010). Therefore, in the contexts of migration, conscious or unconscious national identity preservation efforts are characteristic to the emigrants. Another thing that is happening with immigrants' national identity is that their territoriality and historical memory is re-constructed and loyalty to two or more States is reconciled – the immigrant moves from one cultural context to another the integration process takes its place.

Modern immigration is different from that which took place in the early twentieth century and after the Second World War, because at that time arrivals were mostly war refugees, seeking to assimilate, and lack of transport and communication cut off their links with homeland. Modern immigrants usually come for economic or personal motives, and their relationship with the host society is on a contract basis. Maintaining links with their homeland and its identity is easier for modern migrants because of communication technologies and low-price flights. As a result, immigrants' unwillingness to assimilate has become a modern issue. Immigrants do not feel gratitude to the host country, and use the political and cultural freedom to express their contradictory feelings to it (Parekh, 2008).

V. Liubiene writes that national identity is shaped by national consciousness, and the opposite – that national identity consists of national consciousness. A mature individual, who has his defined sense of belonging to one or another nation, takes cherished values, traditions, customs, a system of symbols, historical experience, attitudes, norms and so on, developed over the centuries, and the national consciousness of the individual has been formed (Liubinienė, 1998). Identification with the nation lets us answer the fundamental question of humanity – what and who I am/we are. Despite the fact that during globalization our interests extend beyond national boundaries, in the politics of national identity, the most important criteria in selecting whether we belong to one country or another is whether the criteria provide an opportunity to belong to one of them or the opposite – a barrier (*we-ness/they-ness*) (Taljunaite M., Labanauskas L,. 2009).

Chapter 3. Data collection and research methodology

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate on the theoretical and practical issues linked to this study. The chapter will present the challenges that I came across in the process of collecting and analyzing data. The ethical considerations in the cross-cultural research, as well as the role of the researcher, will be presented.

3.1. Place of data collection: Lithuanians and Russians in Norway, Oslo

> Jeg føler at jeg ikke har noe med Russland å gjøre… Jeg hører til Norge.
> (Maria Amelie, Aftenposten 2010a [1])

The last few years have seen a dramatic increase in the numbers of Russians and Lithuanians who come to Norway. The biggest part of all immigrants lives in Oslo, although the largest part of Russian immigrants lives in Kirkenes). 25% of all who live in Oslo are immigrants. In fact, almost as many Eastern Europeans now live in Oslo as Pakistanis (Aftenposten.no 07.07.08).

Immigration is divided almost equally between men and women. For certain groups of citizens, major differences remain between the sexes. For example, for Russian citizens there is a predominance of women, at around 65%. Russian women often come to Norway because they marry men who are resident in Norway, which explains the great weight of women in these groups; however, in the recent past the number of Russian immigrants also been affected by an increased proportion of Chechen refugees, and thus are also several Russian men living in Norway (Daugstad 2006).

Lithuanian immigrants have an advantage over Russians immigrants in the sense that Lithuanian membership of the EU ensures that it is no problem for Lithuanians to stay legally in Norway. Russians can have problems with this, and even be sent out from the country. An example of this would be the well known case of M. Amelie[1]. They can come to Norway with specialist visas, or as students, or through family renunification.

We will understand the definition of *immigrants* in the SN (Statistics Norway) sense: immigrants are persons who have either immigrated to Norway and do not have a Norwegian background (also referred to as first generation), or who were born in Norway of two foreign-born parents and who have four foreign-born grandparents.

According to SN, Norway's immigrant population consists of people from 215 different countries and independent regions. They have come as refugees, as labour migrants, to study, or to join families living in Norway.

Between 1990 and 2008, a total of 377 000 non-Nordic citizens immigrated to Norway and were granted residence here. Of these, 24% came as refugees, 24% were labour immigrants and 11% were granted residence in order to undertake education, 23% came to Norway due to family reunification with someone already in Norway, and 17 % were granted residence because they had established a family.

Of the 36 500 European citizens who immigrated, the 10 500 Polish citizens are the largest single group, followed by Swedish immigrants with 6 000. The 3 200 Lithuanian citizens were the third largest group, ahead of the Germans. In general, imigration from abroad increased from 38 600 in 2009 to 42 350 in 2010 and is about as high as in 2008. The biggest increases are citizens from Poland, Lithuania and Sweden, then some citizens immigrating from Eritrea, Latvia and Afghanistan. “Extensive immigration in previous years has been due to large numbers of refugees, but in later years, labour immigration from Poland in particular, but also from Sweden, Lithuania and Germany accounts for the high net immigration” (Statistics Norway).

Following EU enlargement in 2004 there has been a sharp increase of migrant workers from new EU countries. In Norway, the increased labor migration is considered a result of the Norwegian economy and demand for labor, combined with expanded access to work in Norway for job seekers from the new EU countries. Labour immigrants from Poland are currently the largest immigrant group in Norway. After Poland, persons from Lithuania are given the most work permits. There is a great majority of males among labour migrants. Following the extensive labor immigration, family immigration also increased. There are many who have come on the family unification of Lithuanian citizens (Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2011).

Russians are one of the largest groups immigrating to Norway (Thorenfeldt, 2011); further, these statistics concern only Russian emigrants from Russia (see Appendix tables 1-3). They do not cover Russians with citizenship in former Soviet republics, where the largest ethnic Russian diasporas live — for example, Ukraine (about 8 million), Kazakhstan (about 6.5 million), Belarus (about 1.2 million) and Latvia (about 621 000). In all Soviet Union countries, Russian culture and Russian language were dominant. For this reason, Russians regardless of which country in the former Soviet Union they live, feel themselve Russian and maintain a language and culture similar to those who live in Russia. I will not differentiate between the residences of Russians before they moved to Norway, simply because they don't themselves. They never felt any discomfort about their language and culture before they moved to Norway. Because of the particular policies of the Soviet Union, when using term 'Russian' (Clarke J., 2005) I will have these signs in mind: language, nationality, and countries of origin (the former Soviet Union).

About Lithuanians, Statistics Norway says that since the 2nd quarter of 2009, the immigration from Lithuania increased from 3 163 in 2009 to 5 800 in 2010, which is even higher than the level of 2008. By the 1st January 2011 there were 16 396 Lithuanian citizens in Norway, and 10 818 citizens of the Russian Federation. According to the former ambassador of Lithuania in Norway, A. Eidintas, there are about 30 000 Lithuanians in Norway, because not all of them are included in official statistics (c.f. J. Maciulyte, 2008). As representative of small nation, a person has 3 objective reasons to call himself or herself truly Lithuanian: language, nationality and country of origin (Lithuania) (For official statistic about Lithuanians and Russians see also Tables 1, 2 and 3 in the Appendix).

The educational level among our target immigrants (Lithuanians and Russians) is high. "Vi blir" research showed that "migrant workers from the Baltic are more highly educated than those from Poland and female migrant workers have higher education overall than the men" (IMDI, 2008). Unfortunately, because of the lack of Norwegian language proficiency, migrant workers from the Baltic are not able to make sufficient use of their qualifications. "Even after several years in Norway, many migrant workers speak little or no Norwegian. 4 out of 10 of migrant workers from Poland and the Baltic

countries registered on the national registry office have not taken language courses or language tests" (IMDI, 2008). This could be due to the fact that many migrant workers from these countries are not planning at the outset to stay in Norway; they are coming just to earn the money. Only after some years they settle in the new country, and only then begin to think about language courses.

Norway is one of the most popular countries for migrant workers from Lithuania, and this is despite the fact that Lithuanians in Norway often became victims of human trafficking. According to the groups against trafficking in Norway (KOM) data, from 2007 Lithuanian migrants are in fourth place for human trafficking between Romania and the Philippines (KOM rapport, 2008, 2009, 2010). This issue deserves attention, because the poor economic situation alone can not explain it. Russians are, respectively, on the fifteenth place in human trafficking (KOM rapport, 2010).

Immigrants aged 30-44 years from Russia have on average a higher level of educational attainment than the average among all people in Norway in the same age group. 23% of the Russian immigrants have completed at least 4½ years of higher education. This is more than three times as much as for non-immigrants, where the portion with long tertiary education is 7%. Among immigrants from Russia there are very few with no completed education, or only basic education: 4-8%. This is a smaller proportion than among non-immigrants. For example, in 2003, 8% of all foreign students were Russians. Many Russians are looking for seasonal work and stay, or come to Norway via a specialist quota.

Over 90% of Russians have arrived in Norway in the past 10 years. There was therefore practically no Russian minority in Norway during the Soviet Union and the Cold War. (A. Grønn, 2007). The number of Lithuanians increased dramatically after the expansion of the EU in May 2004. Almost all Lithuanian men came to work, and most Lithuanian women state that they came to work, but an almost equally large group came to be reunited with husbands already living in Norway.

From these facts we can see that real situation with immigrants from Lithuanian and Russian is different from that we find in media.

3.2. Mixed methods research (triangulation)

One of the items of my study is that mixed methods research (triangulation), as well as a comparative design (cross cultural research), will be used. The aim of it is to gain a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of linguistic reality in two different national contexts. This research will combine both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative data will be obtained from a self-completion questionnaire with open and closed questions, and qualitative data will be taken from semi-structured interviews and the collection and analysis of literature on the subject.

The comparative design will allow distinguishing characteristics of the two cases (Russians and Lithuanians) to act as a starting point for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings. As Muriel Saville-Troike writes:

> One of the best means by which to gain understanding of one's ways of speaking is to compare and contrast these ways with others, a process that can reveal that any of the communicative practices assumed to be 'natural' or 'logical' are in fact as culturally unique and conventional as the language code itself. (Saville-Troike, 1985, p. 5)

Quantitative and qualitative data will be collected and mixed methods research (triangulation) will be used. I will investigate my research by collecting data from self-completion questionnaire with open and closed questions, semi-structured interviews in focus groups, diary and examination of literature in connection with my study object.

3.2.1. Self-completion questionnaire and semi-structured interviews in focus groups

The most significant data is collected from self-completion questionnaire and semi-structured interviews with five Lithuanian and five Russian families in Oslo / Akershus, a total of 36 people. The main criterions which I had for the informants was the family length of stay in Norway and its desire to stay in Norway, since for my purpose I needed informants who are familiar with Norwegian culture and in one way or another identify themselves with this country.

By Lithuanian/Russian families I mean: Lithuanian families where both wife and husband have Lithuanian language as L1; and Russian families where both wife and

husband have Russian language as L1. Families where one spouse has Russian/Lithuanian as L1 and the other has Norwegian as L1, I will call mixed Lithuanian/Russian-Norwegian families, but for reasons of simplification, I include such families in the term 'Lithuanian/Russian families'.

The majority of the participants were from my social network or my friends' social network. Two Russian families I found through the Russian Internet page "www.dom.ru". They kindly responded to my advertisement about my research. With my informants I first contacted them by telephone and explained who I am (if they didn't know me), explained the goals of my research, and agreed an appropriate time and place to meet with the family. Since for my research I needed all members of the family, the most comfortable place for them was their home. With all participants I spoke in their mother tongue. Research is in general likely to be affected by the characteristic of the researcher (A. Bryman, 2008); to try to minimize it, I therefore made the interviews as informal as possible. Hospitable families helped a lot with this. We had tea with cake, and in some families even dinner, while speaking. Some children felt very comfortable on the floor. All the families felt comfortable, without any interview tension, as interviews took place at home in their everyday environment. I, as a researcher, kept my own opinion private, and every opinion of the participants was accepted. As a result everyone, the researcher and participants, benefited – I gained useful information and the participants, according their own statements after interview, took the opportunity to re-think their ideas and values.

To avoid the possible influence to language use and choice that my teacher's identity could bring, only one family with children from my class was chosen to be interviewed. All other families had nothing to do with my job as a language teacher.

To reveal how the group participants view the issues with which they are confronted, the focus group technique was used. The adults in the family were interviewed together, and the children in the family (those who were old enough to speak) interviewed together. If there was only one child in a family, he/she spoke together with his/her mother. Some older children wanted to speak together with the adults. Everyone got a questionnaire in his or her mother tongue. Filling out a questionnaire, participants could either choose the pre-prepared responses or supply their own comments.

There were different questionnaires for adults and for children. If the child couldn't write or/and read, the questionnaire was filled with the help of his/her mother. Mothers' help was chosen because in Lithuanian and Russian culture the mother takes a far greater responsibility in children's care and training than the father.

The questions for the questionnaire and interview focused on language choice, language use and language attitude. As part of the thesis, I tried to find out how attitudes to language can be linked to identity. Questions in the interview guide were grouped into the following five main parts:

1. *Personal background*. In the beginning of interview, the informants were asked to tell about themselves, their family, their background, mother tongue and nationality. Informants needed to give their age, say when they came to Norway, and why. They also had to tell where they were born, what education they have and what kind of job they have now.

2. *Language practice* (self-reported test about language choice and language use). Informants were asked to give which language or languages they or their children more or less know. They also had to explain when, where and how they have learned various languages; and which language or languages they use to watch films and TV, listen to the songs and radio or read books.

3. *Attitude toward Norwegian and language of origin.* The informants' attitudes towards the languages were investigated by asking questions about the language situation and use at their home and outside, language learning at school or kindergarten and the informants' attitude to their children's use of language. Furthermore, the informants say whether they think it is important that children learn, respectively, Lithuanian or Russian, which language they find the most beautiful, and which language is the most useful in Norway. I also ask what language they want their children to talk with them.

4. *Sense of belonging*. Adult informants were asked whether they have had any problems from speaking Norwegian with an accent; what they would recommend visiting in their homeland; and what things they like in Norway. Children were asked whether they have had any problems from speaking Norwegian with an accent; and where would they like to live when they are 40 years old and why.

5. *Feeling of national identity*. Adults and children were asked to describe what they feel they are and what they think describes their identity. First they had to write up to ten words about who they are, and then they had to mark what they feel they are: Lituanian/Russian, European, Norwegian, World Citizen, It is Hard to Say, Other; and what they think describes identity: Language, Origin of the Family, How People are Brought Up, the Culture they Prefers, the History of the Person's Country, Other.

I noticed that in similar studies to mine, researchers usually ask their informants about religion and belonging to a church community. I think that this question is irrelevant in this context, and most of the time is very sensitive for emigrants of the former Soviet Union. The official Statement of the Soviet Union was that "There is no God" and believers were persecuted, so inherent truth was actually destroyed, and today people are split into a many different types of believers. It is still considered bad etiquette to openly talk about religion with people that you don't know very well. For this reason, despite the fact that religion is av important ingredients in many studies of national identity, I decided to avoid unnecessary tension and not put questions about religion in my questionnaire. In most of my interviews beliefs were revelead in our conversation and my previous convictions were confirmed – the participants belong to a variety of Christian denominations, and some of them have no belief in God at all. Although the general perception is that Lithuanians are Catholics and Russians Orthodox, the reality is not exactly like this, and religion has a little or, in some cases, no influence on the sense of belonging and the feeling of national identity.

After completing the anonymous questionnaire about the language usage, identity, sense of belonging and attitude to the language in writing form, adults were asked to discuss questions about their sense of belonging and feeling of national identity orally. The focus group technique allowed me to develop an understanding about why people feel the way they do.

After completing the questionnaire, children needed to describe the picture. It wasn't required for children to answer all questions; they needed to answer only the questions that they understood. The analysis of the discussion and picture description resulted in an analysis of participants' linguistic practices and language choice.

I used a tape recorder and took notes while we talked and after. The interviews were supposed to take about 30 minutes, but usually it increased to between three and four hours as everyone wanted to speak more and give their experiences from living in Norway.

Since I know Russian, Lithuanian, Norwegian and English, participants had the option of choosing which language they would like to write and/or speak. The results will be presented in the next chapter. The feeling and understanding of national identity of the participants will be studied through the mechanisms of code-switching, borrowing, habitual language choice, *we-code*: *they-code*. Discourse analyses of some the most interesting and typical conversations will be performed.

3.2.2. Studies of the literature and official statistics

This research begins by setting up an historical and cultural frame around the object of study, placing it into context. As a result the studies of the literature and official statistics on the subject served as a data source. The collection of this data began at the library in UIO and was extended at the Lithuanian National Library and the Palace of Books (Knygų rūmai) in Vilnius (Lithuania), since there is very little literature about Lithuania and Lithuanians in Norway. It is possible to see that in Norway there is a great interest in the Russian language in general. This could be due to many business contacts with Russian companies, and of course the Russian language is one of the most widespread in the world. Unfortunately, there was not so much literature on the particular issues that interest me, so I tried to also fill this gap in Lithuania, where in connection with the same culture across the whole Soviet Union, there still happens to be a lot of literature about Russia.

In Lithuania also I made contact with Darius Daukšas who in his PhD (Dauksas, 2010), among other things, examines how migrants from Lithuania and Norway construct the perception of their national ethnic identity. His study is based on anthropological methodology. Research was carried out in Oslo and Halden and 25 interviews with Lithuanians living there were undertaken. D. Daukšas kindly provided me with very useful information.

All findings are presented in different chapters of this study.

3.3. Relevant researches on the subject (Russians and Lithuanians in Norway)

As was mentioned earlier, there is not much research done about Russians' and Lithuanians' present lives, maintaining culture and identity in Norway.

Norwegian researchers are more interested in immigrants from non-European countries (especially Asian and African countries) although, as it was described in the Chapter 3.1, the expansion of immigrant workers from Eastern Europe, including Lithuanian and Russian, increased significantly during the last years. Immigrants from Lithuania are very little explored in Norway. There is more research on Russians, but most of the investigations concentrate on Russian women. Russian men or children are not studied. It looks as though Lithuanian and Russian immigrants receive less attention than, for example Muslim immigrants, perhaps because they are less visible, or because cultural collisions around them are perceived as weaker.

The biggest study on migrants from Poland and the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) in Norway was performed by IMDI in 2008. This project was called "Vi blir" (IMDI, 2008). This is a quantitative study, involving 1,013 respondents from Poland (69%), Lithuania (20%), Latvia (2%) and Estonia (6%) – the proportion of the participants coresponds to official statistics. One of the main conclusions of that study was that immigrants from those countries have plans to stay longer in Norway than previously thought. Some other conclusions were: migrant workers from the Baltic are more highly educated than those from Poland and female migrant workers have higher education overall than the men; about a fifth of those interviewed have encountered discrimination in Norway in one several different arenas; there is a clear need and desire among migrant workers from Poland and Baltic to acquire greater proficiency in Norwegian; due to lack of Norwegian language proficiency, migrant workers from Poland and the Baltic are not able to make enough use of their qualifications; a majority of the migrants workers are in paid work. Even so, language and cultural barriers mean that many have problems in obtaining necessary information, establishing social networks and making full use of their competence; the Norwegian labour market is not making full use of the abilities and competence of migrant workers and their families. A particular

challenge to overcome is that of highly educated women who are either unemployed or take jobs in Norway for which they are overqualified.

This IMDI study has highlighted the existing problems with integration into Norwegian society and the separation between the dominant majority and the migrant. It is not surprising that according to IMDI's study, 43% of those interviewed feel that they are under suspicion as a result of crime committed by people from other countries in Europe. Vita Melinauskaite (Melinauskaite, 2010), in her master thesis in Media studies "Don't care what they say about you in media", describes Norwegian media's influence on stereotypes about Lithuanians and Lithuanian migrants' construction of identity in the light of it. Examining the articles written in Norway about Lithuanians, she draws the conclusion that Lithuanian identity in the media is portrayed as consisting of criminals, robbers, bandits and murderers. Her informants can't identify themselves with that portrait and employ their own identity, based on physical invisibility, cultural similarity and their social functionality.

Most publications on migrants from Lithuania in Norway are announced in accordance with the project (2007-2009) of "Preservation of Lithuanian National Identity in the Process of Europeanization and Globalization: the Lithuanian National Identity Expression, and Ireland, England, Spain, U.S. and Norwegian Politics of Identities". The project manager is the Lithuanian university in Kaunas (Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas). One of the project's articles concerns Lithuanian immigrants' national identity formation strategies in Ireland, England, Spain and Norway (Kuznecoviene, 2009). Kuznecoviene distinguishes three national identity formation strategies of Lithuanian migrants in Ireland, England, Spain and Norway: 1.The construction of the ethnic cultural spaces; 2. Cultural openess to immigrants and emotional link to the country of origin; 3. Immigrants from Lithuania have feelings of belonging to two societies. A participant in the same project, Šutiniene Irena (2009), examines children's education in the families of migrants.

Darius Dauksa used some facts of this project in his PhD about transnationalization challenges of citizenship and ethnicity in modern Lithuania, Lithuanian national minorities and immigration cases (2010). Dealing with identity construction of migrants from Lithuania, Dauksas found that it is strongly influenced by the Norwegian context. It is possible to speak of an ethnically defined *we-ness* (between

Norwegians) concept. Meanwhile, *the other* (they-ness) is considered to be ethnically *different*. This ethnicity-based concept, which dominates in Norwegian society, creates a problem of integration into Norwegian society for immigrants from Lithuania. Being white ensures that a person may not be so noticeable, or at least to imagine himself or herself in a higher position in the social hiearchy, despite being from Eastern Europe. However, this is influenced by the criminalized image of the Lithuanian which Norwegian media emits. The informants underline that the media has a significant negative influence on integration into the host society. On the other hand, it encourages the consolidation of the migrants from the Lithuanian community.

Relevant research on the discourses of Russian women includes Flemmen (2007), who describes the opinion of Norwegian men about gender and nationality in the bicultural Russian-Norwegian marriages. This research was conducted in connection with the project "Når kvinner krysser grenser". The project has analyzed several aspects related to Russian women's immigration to northern Norway. The majority of marriage migrants from Russia to Norway are women. To understand how Russian women and Norwegian men experience their situation, the researchers of this project have conducted qualitative interviews. A. B. Flemmen's article is based on data from qualitative interviews with seven men married to Russian women. All the men live in Troms and Finnmark. The men in this study consider that Russian women who come to Norway are well-educated, strong and can not be dumped by anyone.

Leontieva and Sarsenov (2003) explain the identity Scandinavian media gives to Russian women. Russian women in Norwegian and Swedish newspapers are most discussed in connection with family relationships (marriage) or prostitution. Although the majority of Russian women that come to Norway and Sweden have other objectives than prostitution or marriage, these activities are emblematic of this group.

Stenvoll (2002) provides a discourse analysis of the debate on Russian prostitution in Norwegian newspapers. He writes that as a consequence of this there is a negative image associated with Russians. Russian women feel stigmatized as a result of massive newspaper articles on prostitution, crime, disease and infection as well as rape[1]. Russian women in northern Norway can tell of some requests and offers from Norwegian men that caused them to fear to go out in the evenings, to tone down their makeup and to

be careful not to speak Russian in public. It is difficult for them to be proud of their cultural background, their language and their character.

Other studies on Russian women are about transnational marriage (Flemmen and Lotherington 2008) and equality (Lotherington, 2008).

Some master students in UIO also wrote about Russians in Norway. The Master thesis in Sociology of Natalia Moen (2009), "Home among strangers and strangers at home", is based on interviews with ten Russian women. The women are either married, or have been married to Norwegian men. The idea is that cohabitation with a Norwegian has contributed to Norwegian discourses women have been confronted with in every day contexts. Even if the women keep saying that they are not Norwegian, they mention that they became a little bit Norwegian, they are '*fornosket*'. The women say that they feel themselves in between two cultures; some of them feel that they belong to neither Norway nor Russia. The Master's thesis in philosophy of E. Kalinina, "One degree is not enough?" (2010), discusses issues that motivates students with Russian backgrounds and Russian university degrees to study again in Norway.

There is further interesting information about Russian women in E. Bjugn 's (2001) thesis, “Språkbruk, språkvalg og sosiale nettverk blant kvinner med russisk og filipinsk bakgrunn i Kirkenes”.

She conducted a study of the language situation from two different groups of immigrants in the same place — 11 Russian and 11 Filipino women in Kirkenes. It was found that the informants' spouses’ language is controlled by the spouses' ethnicity, so that they speak the language of the majority with Norwegians and minority with Russians or Fillipino. Russian informants also use Russian with bilingual Norwegian spouses. The Russian mothers and fathers transfer the Russian language to their children. With other interlocutors, Russian informants speak Norwegian if they are Norwegian and Russian if they are Russians. Some also use Russian with Norwegians and the other immigrants. All the Russian informants have code-mixing between Norwegian and Russian languages. Despite the negative attitudes toward Russians in the majority society, Russian mothers want to transfer the Russian language to their children. Residence, age and Norwegian language skills can’t explain the individual variation of language choice.

Julia Ratikainen's thesis (2006), "Language use and childrearing in cross-linguistic Norwegian-Russian families in Norway" (master thesis, The Institute of Psychology University of Oslo), investigates the phenomenon of transmission of the minority language to the children in fifteen Russian mother/Norwegian father families living in Norway, with a focus on the mother's experiences of this issue. Analysis of the data revealed certain consequences of different language use patterns for children's active bilingualism. Those children whose mothers were inconsistent in their language choice, were unlikely to develop an active use of the Russian language. On the other hand, those mothers who adhered to Russian managed to establish an active use of this language by their children. An interesting finding is that of fifteen interviewed mothers, all but one were initially very determined to transmit their native language to the child. All the mothers said that their husbands had a very positive attitude towards early bilingualism and the Russian language. All mothers used both languages (Russian and Norwegian) when addressing the child in the presence of the father, and spoke Russian when they were alone with the child. All the mothers started to work before their children reached two years of age, and the children were exposed to Norwegian through daily care. The consequence was that the children haven't received sufficient input in Russian language. The Norwegian language became dominant to the children, and mothers felt that insisting on a minority language use distanced them from their children. In addition, mothers had worried about a delay in both languages. Some mothers also attempted to encourage their husbands to learn Russian, at least to extend passive understanding; however, none of them succeeded.

It should be noted that the authors writing about current migration in Norway emphasize the transnational aspects of migration. An example may be M. Pawlak (2010). Eriksen (2007) also refers to the links with Norway and Pakistan, changed in the process of trans-nationalism which contrary to expectation, will be directed only to Norway, and increasingly developed in order to get the best of both worlds.

I will keep all these different levels of researches in mind and use when analysing my own findings.

3.4. Validation of the data collection

As A. Bryman justly notices (2008) there are three of the most prominent criteria for evaluation of social research: reliability (the degree to which a measure of a concept is stable), replication (the degree to which the results of a study can be reproduced) and validity (a concern with the integrity of the conclusions that are drawn from the research). These criteria fit perfectly to quantitative research, but not so much to qualitative studies. So Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed an alternative approach. They take *trustworthiness* as a criterion, and it consists of: *credibility*, which parallels internal validity; *transferability*, which parallels reliability; and *confirmability*, which parallels objectivity. Since my research has features of both quantitative and qualitative research, I will have in mind both theories for evaluation.

The sample of 5 Russian and 5 Lithuanian families of course can not yield completely generalized conclusions, but together with the facts from the other studies and the description of the social setting in which the research was conducted, they can bring reasonably reliable light on this topic, and the findings can generalized to a theory.

Moreover, the self-completion questionnaires are included in the appendices, and the research procedure with the sampling frame is described in this chapter, so it is easily possible for others to replicate at least one part of research – completing the self-completion questionnaire. As with any other qualitative research, the next stage, the semi-structured interviews, are unfortunately difficult to replicate completely, because they are influenced by the researcher's personality and the responses of participants.

To establish the credibility (criteria that parallel internal validity for some researchers as for example Guba and Lincoln (1994)) of findings in the study, more than one source of data were used — triangulation. To establish transferability (which parallels external validity (Guba and Lincoln, 1994)) a thick description of relevant social setting was done; as for confirmability, or objectivity – I didn't overtly allow my personal values or theoretical inclinations to manifest in the process of research.

This research definitely has ecological validity. If we would answer to the question of ecology as Cicourel (1982) has it: "Do our instruments capture the daily life conditions, opinions, values, attitudes, and knowledge base of those we study as expressed in their natural habitat?" (Cicourel 1982, p. 15) the answer would be positive.

The information from participants was collected in their natural settings – their homes, with informal, naturally flying conversation with a cup of tea in their hands (tea when you have guests is the most common thing in both Lithuanian and Russian cultures).

3.5. Ethical considerations

All data collected about these families are anonymous. The information will be treated confidentially, and no individuals will be recognizable in the completed task. Information is anonymous and the recordings will be deleted when the task is completed.
The study was reported to the Privacy Ombudsman for Research, the Norwegian Social Science Data Services A / S (NSD). In the beginning of the interview participants received oral and written information about this research, and gave written consent. Parents gave consent on behalf of the children. Participants needed to answer only those questions that they understood and wanted to. If some question seemed inappropriate, participants were able to skip it.

Chapter 4: Informants' background

4.1. Personal background

4.1.1. Lithuanian informants' personal background

„Aš didžiuojuosi, kad esu lietuvis. Ir čia pat turiu pasakyti, kad yra be galo sunku būti lietuviu. Tragiškai sunku būti lietuviu.“[6]

(The words of the famous Lithuanian poet J. Marcinkevičius (1930-2011) in the documentary film „Prie rugių ir prie ugnies“ , 2010).

Lithuanians are the Baltic ethnic group native to Lithuania, where they number slightly over 3 million people. Their native language is Lithuanian. Lithuania regained its freedom from the Soviet Union in 1990. I will interview only those Lithuanians who lived in Lithuania before they came to Norway. As a representative of a small nation,

person has 3 objective reasons to call himself or herself true Lithuanian: language, nationality and country of origin (Lithuania).

4.1.1.1. Age, length of stay in Norway, age at arrival

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show Lithuanian informants' age at the time of the interview, length of stay in Norway and the age range. Five Lithuanian families were interviewed, totalling 18 persons: Four men (one of them Norwegian), five women, five boys and four girls. Adults are 29 – 47 years old and children are 2 – 18 years old.

Table 4.1. Sample of 18 speakers.

	Men	**Women**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Number	**4 (1 of them Norwegian)**	**5**	**5**	**4**
Age range	**32-47**	**29-43**	**2-18**	**2-17**

Table 4.2. Speaker's age at arrival in Norway and length to stay.

	Men	**Women**	**Children**
Age at arrival	**25-41**	**23-41**	**Birth-15**
Length of stay in years	**4-8**	**2-7**	**2-7**

We see that men stayed in Norway longer than women. The reason is that men very often come to Norway first and after a year or more invite their woman and children to come. We will see it later speaking about the causes of immigration.

4.1.1.2. Education and job

The majority of the Lithuanian adults (5) have higher education, one has studied in college, one finished secondary school only, and one didn't want to say (see Table 4 in the Appendix). The women work as a housemaid (one woman), as mother tongue teachers or '*morsmålslærere'* (two women), and two women are housewives. One man is a road worker and two are house builders. We see that our participants confirm the findings of the IMDI project "Vi blir" (IMDI, 2008) – the educational level among immigrants is high and many of them are not working according their education.

4.1.1.3. Cause of immigration

For three of the Lithuanian participants the cause of immigration cause was work, for two marriage, and for three family reunion. All the women moved for family reunion, or because her husband was working in Norway, or because her husband was Norwegian. All the Lithuanian men moved trying to improve their family's economic situation.

LT1 family. Husband moved to Norway because he got a better paid job here than in Lithuania. Wife immigrated because husband had a job in Oslo. They both think that there are better social guarantees here, in Norway.

LT2 family. Husband moved to Norway because he got a better paid job here than in Lithuania. Wife immigrated because husband had a job in Oslo.

LT3 family. Husband moved to Norway because he couldn't find work in Lithuania; he got a job here in Norway. Wife immigrated because husband had a job in Oslo.

LT4 family. Woman immigrated because of marriage with a Norwegian.

LT5 family. Woman immigrated because of marriage with a Norwegian.

4.1.2. Russian informants' personal background

Жить хорошо, а хорошо жить еще лучше.[7]
(The words from very famous Russian comedy "Prikliuchienje Shurika". The film was shot in Soviet times and is still popular now.)

As I explained earlier the largest ethnic Russian diasporas today outside of Russia are in former Soviet Union, and under certain historical circumstances Russians regardless of the country feel Russian. They maintain language and culture similar to those who live in Russia, and never felt tension about their identity until they moved to Norway.

4.1.2.1. Age, length of stay in Norway, age at arrival

Tables 4.1.2. and 4.1.3 show the Russian informants' age at the time of the interview, length to stay in Norway and the age range. Five Russian families were interviewed, totalling 18 persons: Four men (one of them Norwegian), five women, four boys and five girls. Adults are 28 – 46 years old and children are 2 – 17 years old.

Table 4.1.2. Sample of 18 speakers.

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Number	**4 (1 of them Norwegian)**	**5**	**4**	**5**
Age range	**28-46**	**30-41**	**8 -9**	**2-17**

Table 4.1.3. Speaker's age at arrival in Norway and length to stay.

	Men	Women	Children
Age at arrival	**23-38**	**20-33**	**Birth-9**
Length of stay in years	**8-16**	**5-16**	**2-8**

4.1.2.2. Place of origin

The Russian participants are from four different former Soviet Union countries: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Latvia and Russia. This well reflects the distribution of Russians within the former Soviet Union.

Table 4.1.4. Countries of Russian speakers' origin

Countries of origin	Russian speakers (8)
Belarus	1
Kazakhstan	1
Latvia	2
Russia	4

4.1.2.3. Education and job

All except one of the Russian adults have higher education. One has studied in college (see Table 5 in Appendix). One woman works in a tourist company, one as an account specialist, two as teachers, and one doesn't work. One man is a computer specialist, one works in a shipping branch and one is an engineer. This coincides with SN data that immigrants from Russia on average have a very high educational level. And my Russian participants, unlike Lithuanians participants, have jobs according to their education, except one woman who has three children and raises them at home.

4.1.2.3. Cause of immigration

One of the Russian participant's cause of immigration was work, for two marriage, for three family reunion, for one study and for one both work and study. Despite these different causes, the majority of the Russian participants had economic cause to come to Norway.

RUS 1. Husband moved together with his parents. Wife moved to Norway to marry him.

RUS 2. Husband moved to Norway to study and to get a good job here. Wife immigrated because her husband studied and worked in Norway.

RUS 3. Husband was invited to work in Norway, and wife and children came together with him.

RUS 4. Marriage with a Norwegian.

RUS 5. Woman came to study and stayed because of marriage with a Norwegian.

4.2. Linguistic competence of the informants

In this chapter I will describe the languages informants know, and discuss the skills they have in each language. It is reasonable to assume that the informants' language skills help to determine their language use and language choice. Of course, as we discussed in Chapter 2 level of languages skills alone can not explain their use and choice, but it is important because it shows the abilities to make those choices. Participants evaluated their own skills (see Questionnaires in Appendix). Informants were asked to write which language/languages they/their children more or less know. They also needed to explain when, where and how they have learned various languages.

It is important to note that use of self evaluation alone do not give a reliable result. Some informants have a tendency to overestimate their skills, while others are more critical and underestimate their skills. The language problem also exists. As not all my informants were fluent in Norwegian or English, they received the questionnaire in their mother tongue – Lithuanian or Russian. It was problematic to find a word implying better language skills than ‘very good’ in the Lithuanian language. It is no problem in Norwegian or English, as those languages have good words for that – *flytende* and *fluent*. It is not so bad in Russian where *fluent* has the equivalent *svobodno*. Even though the root

of the word means *free*, the Russian word *svobodno* has the meaning *to have the language under control*. It is not like this in Lithuanian. It was possible to find three equivalents for fluent – *laisvai*, *sklandžiai*, and *tobulai*. *Laisvai* means 'to speak freely' and *sklandžiai* means 'to have flowing speech'. The latter word can be used only when talking about speaking and writing, but not about listening and understanding. It is a big question whether *laisvai* means to have better skills than 'very good'. This is why the word *tobulai* was chosen. In direct translation it means 'perfect'. It is very strong word, and having in mind the strict language policy and cult of purity in Lithuanian (Chapter 5), we can not be very surprised that some Lithuanian adults answered that they have very good Lithuanian, but not perfect. These answers reflect the widespread opinion in Lithuania that no one, except language workers, can speak or write fluently in Lithuanian.

All adult participants chose to entirely complete the questionnaire and to have an interview in their mother tongue as a main language. Being an educated Lithuanian language specialist, I can state that the Lithuanian participant adults are fluent in the Lithuanian language (in understanding, speaking, writing and reading). It is different with the children, because it depends on their age. It is important to note that Lithuanians' and Russians' skills in their mother tongue are not as different in reality as would seem from their self evaluation. The reasons for that are different language policies in the participants' lands of origin and in the language itself.[10]

It could be some inadequacy between self evaluation and real other language knowledge of participants as well. I had not done any other language than mother tongue testing, as the idea was to find the abilities of the participants, trends and how the participants feel about their language skill. These things are the most important when dealing with attitudes, language choice and identity. It was interesting to discover some underestimation of the mother tongue skills in Lithuanians self evaluation.

The participants' self-evaluation of their language skills are in the Appendix, in Tables 6-9. Russians in general report better skills than Lithuanians in all the languages – mother tongue, Norwegian and English. The Lithuanians can all speak, understand, read and write in Russian, and they speak and understand it either 'perfect' or 'very good'. In fact, only two of Russians (RUS3 and RUS4 woman) have proficiency in the national language of their land of origin. The RUS3 woman, who is originally from Latvia,

reported that she can speak, write, read and understand 'a little' Latvian. This could be due to the changed and relatively strong language policy in post-Soviet Latvia. RUS3 woman told that she felt out of the public and had to take Latvian courses after Soviet Union collapsed. The RUS4 woman came from Belorussia and reported fluency in the Belorussian language. I must note here that Russian and Belorussian are very similar.

4.2.1. Proficiency in the Norwegian language

That Russians reported 'very good' or 'perfect' Norwegian language skills; after only 5-16 years' living in Norway this is a very good achievement, as many of them couldn't learn the national language of their native country, even though they lived there all their life, and actually were in the minority in that national country (Chapter 5; Appendix, Tables 7, 9).

The relatively low Lithuanian knowledge of the Norwegian language confirms IMDI project's "Vi blir" data – migrant workers from the Baltic area have low proficiency in Norwegian (IMDI report 2008). The fact that Lithuanians' stay in Norway has been in general of a shorter length can not alone explain their lower proficiency in Norwegian. While this could be truth for children – the more years spent in Norway, the better the knowledge of Norwegian – it does not work for adults.

We can see this by comparing Lithuanians with one another, or comparing Russians with Lithuanians. For example, LT2 family's man, who has lived in Norway for seven years and reported that he can speak, understand, read and write in Norwegian 'a little' and LT5 family's woman, who has lived in Norway for three years and can speak and write 'good', read and understand 'a little bit'; LT3 family's man, who has lived in Norway for eight years and RUS3 family's woman, who has lived the same number of years in Norway, and reports 'fluent' Norwegian skills.

On the other hand there is one Russian man (RUS3), who has been in Norway for eight years and can't speak Norwegian at all.

It looks as though the biggest influence in learning the language is the attitude and motivation of the participants. The Russian man from RUS3 works for an international ship company where the main language of the job is English. He speaks Russian with his family, and it is enough to know English to be understood in public places in Norway.

The majority of the Lithuanian participants, unlike the Russians, initially only came to Norway for a short time. While they planned to return to Lithuania they ended up staying for longer, or forever. At first it was not necessary to learn Norwegian; it would only become so when they found out that they were staying. Some other reasons could also play a role here – language aptitude, the ambition to get a better job, or the necessity to work long hours with the consequent lack of time.

4.2.2. Proficiency in the English language

English is the language that all adults, and children older than 8 years, more or less know and use in their day life. Children learn this language at school and watch English or American films. They listen to songs, read books (see Appendix, Tables 33-36) and play computer games, designed in this language. Three of the participant children even answered the question concerning which language is most useful in Norway saying that it is English. For the LT1 family girl, the most useful language in Norway is English because one can communicate in English if he doesn't understand Norwegian; the LT3 family boy thinks that the most useful languages in Norway are English and Norwegian; while RUS2 family girl writes that the most useful language in Norway is English, because it is an international language. So it is not obvious for the children that the most useful language in Norway is Norwegian. Hence, English takes the special place in the participants' mind.

Concerning proficiency in English, Russians again take a leading position. According to their self-evaluation they seem so much better than the Lithuanians. Most of the Russians reported 'fluent' language skills, while most Lithuanians reported 'good' or 'very good' English skills. It is difficult to say if the lower Lithuanian self-evaluation is due to lower language skills, or lower self-estimation and the difference in the semantics of the notion 'fluent'.

Consequently, the main languages of the participants are: mother tongue, English, Norwegian and Russian (for Lithuanians). The other reported language skills are: LT2 family's woman – French; LT3 boy – Spanish; LT4 woman – Polish; the RUS1 family's man and woman – Swedish; RUS2 woman and girl – Spanish; RUS3 woman – Latvian; RUS4 woman – Belarus. The rated proficiency in these supplementary languages is not

high and/or these languages are not used in daily life at all. An exception is RUS1 woman, who lived several years in Sweden before moving to Norway. During the interview she told that she never completed courses in Norwegian, even though she started them, and uses Swedish in her job because it is well understood. This woman reported in the questionnaire that she is good at speaking Norwegian and very good at writing, reading and understanding, but her story during the interview makes this doubtful.

4.2.3. Mother tongue preservation

The last thing what is worth mentioning speaking about the linguistic competence of our participants is about the proficiency in their mother tongue in comparison with the other languages. If we would look at the tables 7, 8, 9 (see Appendix) formally it is easy to draw the conclusion that most Lithuanians have the same ability in Russian as in Lithuanian, or that most Russian have the same proficiency in Norwegian and English as in their mother tongue. In reality, all the adults have an incomparably greater proficiency in their mother tongue, as native speakers of this language, than in other languages. An exception may possibly be made for two of the men; the Lithuanian man from the LT1 family lived his first five years in Russia, and the Russian man from the RUS1 who came to Norway in a very young age, attended an American school here, and acquired a high education in Norway after this.

In fact, Russians, most of whom reported fluency in Norwegian, reported experiencing problems from speaking Norwegian with an accent. This was reported by four Russian adults (which bearing in mind that one man (RUS3) doesn't speak Norwegian at all constitutes more than a half of our Russian participants) and two children.

It is a different situation with children's mother tongue. First, not all parents could say what language is the mother tongue for their child. Second, living and studying in Norway, children develop Norwegian language skills more than their parents' native language skills. Only in those families where parents make considerable effort to maintain the mother tongue in their children's lives do children develop equal ability in their mother tongue and the state language. Otherwise the parents' native language

becomes used only as a home and family language for children. It is used on a household level and doesn't proceed to a more academic level because children miss the required language input. As F. Grosjean (2010) notices:

> If a language is spoken in a reduced number of domains and with a limited number of people, then it will not be developed as much as a language used in more domains and with more people ... If a domain is not covered by a language, bilinguals will simply not possess the domain-specific vocabulary, the stylistic variety, or even sometimes the discursive and pragmatic rules needed for that domain (Grosjean 2010, p. 31).

Both Lithuanian and Russian communities have native language schools for children. Russian language schools are stronger than Lithuanian in the sense that they are better financed and have classes once a week. One Russian language school is established by the Embassy of Russia, another by the Russian community, and the third by the church.

The Lithuanian language school is established by the Lithuanian community and it has classes every second weekend. It happened that not one of my Lithuanian participants attends Lithuanian language school, but three Russian families (RUS1, RUS2, RUS3 families) keep their children in the Russian language school. The RUS2 and RUS3 families have very strong position concerning Russian language. Children from RUS2 family attend Russian language school, they read Russian books together, and they frequently visit Russia.

Children from the RUS3 family also attend the Russian language school and they have a strict agreement to speak only Russian at home, even though there was one moment when the children wanted to speak Norwegian not only in school, but at home too. These measures produced very good results in the childrens' proficiency in their mother tongue. For example, the RUS2 family have lived in Norway for 16 years, and the children (a girl at 15 years old, a boy at 8 years old and a girl at 6 years old) were born and grew up in Norway and attend Norwegian schools, but think that they know Russian best of their languages. The same is true in the RUS3 family – the family has lived in Norway for 8 years and both the children (a girl at 15 years old and boy at 8 years old) believe that they know Russian best. We can see that these two families clearly belong to

the first of Hansen's family pattern types: children pattern with the parents in their language choice (see Chapter 2.4).

It is difficult to yet say the same about the RUS1 family because their children are too young. They are just learning to speak and perceive themselves. At present family belongs to the fourth pattern: the children in a family are split – the four year old son patterns with his parents, while the two year old girl is in between the parents and the community. Both the children have dual-nationality – Norwegian and Russian.

The son (four years old) speaks Russian at home, and just sometimes asks how to translate some Norwegian words into Russian. He speaks Russian or Norwegian with friends, depending on the friends. He says that it is the same for him what language to use; with both he feels comfortable. With his younger sister he speaks mostly Russian, but when they play together sometimes he speaks Norwegian. He first started to speak in Norwegian. His mother, father and grandparents speak Russian with him and with his younger sister. His younger sister speaks Russian with him, and sometimes when they play she speaks Norwegian.

This case is of interest in comparison with the Lithuanian family LT2. Both the Russian and Lithuanian families have daughters of the same age. Analyzing how these two families deal with a language contributes to a better understanding of how family influences a child's identity, manifested through talk.

As we said, the RUS1 girl (two years old) has dual-nationality – Norwegian and Russian. Her parents think that her mother tongue is Russian, but she first started to speak in Norwegian. It is difficult to say which language she can speak best. When she was younger she could speak Norwegian better than Russian, but after her grandparents visited she started to speak more Russian. She prefers to speak Russian with her parents and Norwegian with friends or when she plays. Sometimes she mixes two languages together. Both children's development in Russian lags behind the monolingual Russian children.

The LT2 family has a daughter of the same age. Her nationality is Lithuanian. She can speak two languages well – Lithuanian and Norwegian. She first started to speak in Lithuanian, but when she began to go to a Norwegian kindergarten aged one, she began to speak more and more Norwegian. As a result, it is currently very difficult to say which

she will choose in the future – whether she will keep both languages or lose her parents' native language. Her parents couldn't decide if her mother tongue is Lithuanian or Norwegian. It is difficult to say what language she knows best. Her mother, father and grandparents speak Lithuanian with her. She speaks Lithuanian with her parents and Norwegian with friends or when she plays. Sometimes she mixes languages together. Her patterns are somewhere in between the parents and the community. The difference between the Russian and the Lithuanian girl is that the Russian girl began to speak the language of the community first and then gain more and more proficiency in her parents' native language; while the Lithuanian girl started to speak her parents' language first before she later began to gain more and more proficiency in the language of community.

In all the Russian and Lithuanian families with one Norwegian spouse (with LT5 family an exception), children pattern with the community and the Norwegian parent in their language choice. They speak only Norwegian and feel themselves Norwegian. Even though the boy from the LT4 family has Lithuanian nationality and has a Lithuanian father (the Norwegian man is only a stepfather to him), he claims himself Norwegian. This boy is six years old, was born in Lithuania and lived the first three years of his life in Lithuania. He first he started to speak Lithuanian when he was two and a half years old, and lost the language after moving to Norway. The boy experienced some difficulties in his language development, and also refused to speak Lithuanian; as a result his mother decided to quit trying with Lithuanian for a while so that he could learn at least one language well. The mother doesn't speak Norwegian very well; it is difficult for her to speak Norwegian but she speaks it to her sons regardless, not wanting to miss them, and wanting some authority over them. She only rarely tries to speak Lithuanian with them, but when she does it she receives no reaction. Two of her boys (at two and three years old) have learnt Norwegian from their (step-) father and in kindergarten. They are fluent in Norwegian. The boys can understand some Lithuanian, but can't and don't want to speak it; they speak only Norwegian. The older can say some simple Lithuanian words, for example, *filmukas* – film, *gerai* – good, *taip* – yes, *ne* – no.

The LT5 family is the only example with spouses of mixed nationality where the child kept his mother tongue. This is understandable because he moved to Norway just

three years ago, at the age of fifteen, and has a Lithuanian father. He shares patterns with his mother.

The girls from the LT1 family moved to Norway with their mother only two years ago, at the ages of 15, 13 and 6; the father already lived here. Consequently these girls have had a good input from their motherland – Lithuania. They have now learned Norwegian at school, and currently have a better proficiency in Norwegian than their parents (see Appendix, Table 6).

The oldest daughter (17 years old) can understand, speak and write Norwegian quite well, and read well. The middle daughter (15 years old) can understand and read Norwegian very well, and speak and write Norwegian well. The youngest daughter (8 years old) can speak, understand, read and write just a little bit of Norwegian. All are fluent in Lithuanian as native language speakers, and the family doesn't feel the need to reinforce their mother tongue proficiency with Lithuanian language school or '*morsmålsopplæring'*.

The children from the LT3 family were the only ones I knew before the interview. In order to minimize the influence of this to the results of this research, I chose families who were not connected to my job as a teacher, but the language situation in this family was so relevant for many immigrants' families, that I couldn't avoid taking this family into my research. The man of this family moved to Norway eight years ago, and his wife with the children came after one year. The older brother was then six years old. The younger brother was born in Norway. The brothers have Norwegian as their second language (L2). Being the teacher for both brothers (three years for the older brother at school and one year for the younger in kindergarten) and conducting bilingual education ('tospråklig opplæring') for them, I had a unique opportunity to observe their language development.

Various tests of their proficiency in both languages (mother tongue – L1 – and second language L2) were performed by myself and by the other teacher. The results showed that the brothers are behind in proficiency in both the L1 and L2 languages; they are not perfect in either language. This problem is quite common in multinational Oslo/Akershus schools.

The four year old has phonological problems with some Lithuanian sounds, especially with the sound *r*. He pronounces this sound in Norwegian in a good way; the problem is due to the different requirements for this sound in L1 and L2 languages. He also sees no difference between plural and singular, and usually avoids the plural entirely and says *tre kat* or *trys katinukas* (three cat). The other children in the kindergarten of the same age and from families with two Norwegian spouses had no problems to use plural in the correct manner. The sentence structure in the four year old boy's speech is upside-down and the words often go in any order.

He first started to speak in Lithuanian. With his mother, father, older brother and grandparents he speaks Lithuanian, and they speak only Lithuanian with him. With his best friends he speaks Lithuanian or Norwegian.

The older brother reports in the questionnaire that he is 'fluent' in Lithuanian, and has 'very good' Norwegian skills. He says that his mother tongue is Lithuanian, and thinks that he has a greater ability in Norwegian than in Lithuanian.

With his mother and father he speaks Norwegian and Lithuanian, while with his younger brother and grandparents he speaks Lithuanian. They speak Lithuanian with him, but sometimes when he didn't understand what they mean in Lithuanian his mother or father explains in Norwegian. With his best friends he speaks Lithuanian or Norwegian, depending on the friend.

It is useful to look closely at this story about the frog, which he told in the Lithuanian and Norwegian languages, as it helps us understand the difficulties our target groups have in their speech. The boy was presented the story about the frog in picture form, and was asked to tell it in the two languages. He didn't previously know the story, and therefore needed to use the input he had from other stories and situations.

The boy could choose the order of the languages in which he would tell the story. He chose to tell the story first in Lithuanian.

B – boy, R – researcher

Lithuanian story:

B. Berniukas ir šuniukas žaidė su varlyte – šuniukas ir berniukas ėjo miegoti ir varl – ir varliukas išlindo iš stiklinės – atidarė langą iš – ir – ir pabėgo – kitą dieną. Berniukas su šuniuku ieškojo

varlės savo kambaryje, bet niekur nesurado. Ėjo – nu – ėjo per langą ir kai berniukas kvietė varlytę, bet ji neatėjo – ir šuniukas iškrito pro langą – ir – ir – ir šuniukas sudaužė stiklą ant savo galvos. Paskui berniukas ir šuniukas ieškojo – nu – skylėje, ant žemės. Berniukas žaidė su bičių – bitėmis. Paskui šuniukas numetė tą kulą ir – bitės pradėjo pulti šuniuką – o berniukas ėjo į medį ieškoti varlytės. Bet tenais nebuvo varlytės, tenais buvo –
(A pause of seven seconds shows that he doesn't know the word)
R. Pelėda
B. Pelėda. Šuniukas – bėgo nuo bičių. Paskui berniukas lipo ant didelio akmenio, šaukė šuniu – šaukė varlytės ir – bet tenais nebuvo varlytės – tenais buvo tiktais –
(5 seconds pause the boy shows that he doesn't know the word)
R. Briedis.
B. O briedis numetė juos į vandenį. Šuniukas ir berniukas girdėjo varlytes, tai ėjo pas varlytes, pamatė varlyčių namą ir daug varlyčių – paskui surado varlytę ir ėjo namo. Pabaiga.

Norwegian story:

B. Gutten og hunden lekte med frosken. Gutten og hunden gikk og legget seg mens frosken gikk ut. Da gutten og hunden våknet så fant de ikke frosken. Gutten og hunden letter etter frosken men de fant han ikke. Så gikk gutten og hunden inn i skogen for å lete etter frosken. Mens hunden lekte med bikuben gikk gutten og – jeg mener – lettet in i beverhulen. Men det var bare en bever som slå gutten i nesa mens hunden bjeffet på bikuben. Så falt bikuben ned og biene startet å jage hunden mens gutten gikk – gikk opp på en tre og fant en hull. Men det var ingen – e – frosk det var bare en ugle og hunden løpte vekk fra – biene. Så gikk gutten opp på en stor stein og ropte etter frosken, så han en elg og kastet han ned i vanne, så falt han ned og hørte noen frosker over – tre – over tre. Sikt han over tre og han fant to store frosker og sin egen – og mange baybefrosker. Så tok han med seg egen frosk og dro hjem.

It is easy to see that the boy sometimes had trouble expressing himself in L1:

-*varliukas išlindo iš stiklinės.*

This means that the frog *crawled out*, but it's not the right word to say about the frog.

-žaidė su bičių – bitėmis.

We can translate this as he played *with bee – with bees*. The boy wasn't sure which case is correct. He tried the wrong one to start with, and chose the right one the second time.

The utterance *šaukė varlytės* is also in the wrong case. The boy uses genitive, but it supposed to be in the accusative: *šaukė varlytę*.

The Lithuanian language has seven cases, many tenses, simple spelling and pronunciation, only two genders (female and male), and relatively simple conjugation. Verbs are divided into three conjugations after the ending in the present tense third person. All verbs have present tense, past tense, past tense and future tense, frequentative times, subjunctive and imperative (both without distinction of times) and the infinitive. Other than the infinitive these forms are conjugative, with two singular, two plural persons and the third person common to both plural and singular. The rich inflexion system makes word order unimportant, but it means that it is very important to use the right case or conjugation.

The boy didn't know the word for *pelėda* (owl) and *briedis* (moose) in the mother tongue, either. On the other hand, he blends *bever* (beaver) with *muldvarp* (mole) in L2, which he does not in Lithuanian.

The boy's narrative also shows interaction only from L1 to L2. He uses only past simple tense in both languages; there is no perfect tense in his narrative. It may be the dominant influence of the Lithuanian language, because Lanza (2001) found some perfect tense in the same frog story narratives by children bilingual in Norwegian and English. Discussing her findings she writes "when there is no overt specification of a definite time in the past, Norwegian is more apt to use perfect while English more frequently uses the past tense" (Lanza 2001, p. 187).

Lithuanian has no past perfect tense (participle forms are used if needed, *Han **har vart** i Norge – Jis **yra buvęs** Norvegijoje.* Lithuanian has the richest participle system of all Indo-European languages, participle are derived from all tenses with distinct active and passive forms, and gerund forms), and the past simple tense is usually used in fairy tales and other similar stories. Present tense can also be used, but rarely.

The Lithuanian language has no article system, and as a result the boy has problems with articles. Kellerman writes: "Many studies have shown that not having an article system in the L1 is a handicap in acquiring such a system in the L2." (Kellerman 1995, p. 131). This study shows the same thing.

The boy has problems with the apparent arbitrariness in the Norwegian gender, since gender in Lithuanian is expressed with endings. He says *en tre, en hull, i vannen.*

Another thing which has an impact on the L2 is prepositions. "Specially learners in the early and intermediate stage of language acquisition tend to make partial and non-target-like initial mappings that are often influenced by their L1. For example, Jarvis and Odlin's (2002) research on the acquisition of spatial relations found that Swedish learners of English mapped L2 prepositions onto L1-based spatial meanings", writes T. Cadierno (Cadierno 2008, p. 259).

The boy's use of some prepositions is clearly influenced by L1. G sier *en bever som slå gutten **i** nesa.* He means ***på** nesa*, but it is ***į** nosį* (***i** nesa*) in Lithuanian.
The boy uses *over* in a strange way as well: *Så falt han ned og hørte noen frosker **over** – tre – **over** tre*.

From his intonation and his pauses, it is clear that he understands that something is wrong, but he says it anyway. It is possible that this mixture can be influenced by L1, because *po* [po] in Lithuanian language means *under* or *over*, and there may be a kind of mixture in the mind between several proposals when the person with Lithuanian as L1 must treat *på, under* or *over* in Norwegian language.

Lithuanian also has a variety of diminutive suffixes, especially frequently used when speaking with small children. Telling the story in Lithuanian, the boy uses diminutive suffixes in many words, such as *šuni**uk**as* (a little dog), *varli**uk**as* (a little frog), *berni**uk**as* (a little boy), and thus makes his speech more like that of young children. In general the Lithuanian speech of the boy is full of such diminutives and very simple. Such talk is used by young children or by adults speaking with children. Hence, the boy's narrative confirms the fact that the biggest language input he received in his childhood and most of the times he uses Lithuanian he communicates with his younger brother.

The LT3 family's children don't attend a Lithuanian language school. The older brother did for a while, but he didn't like it. After some arguing with the parents, he was alllowed to quit the Lithuanian school.

From this analysis it is clear that linguistic differences such as the article system, the tense system (failing to use perfect), prepositions and grammatical gender are a source of problems in L2 production. In addition, we see that children who grow up in countries with L2 may have problems in L1 production[11].

4.3. Chapter summary

In this chapter the informants' personal background and the linguistic background – the linguistic competence – were described.

The informants are, in a sense, quite young, between 28 and 47 years old, their children are between two and eighteen years old. The Lithuanian adult informants' length of stay in Norway is between two and seven years, while the Russian informants' length of stay is between five and sixteen. Hence, we are talking of modern migration here.

Table 10 (see Appendix) summaries both informant groups' ages at the time of the interview, length of stay in Norway and age range. The age range of Lithuanian and Russian informants are similar, but the Russian informants live in Norway noticeably longer than the Lithuanian; the mean length of stay for the Lithuanians is 4,5 years, while for the Russians it is 10,5 years). It is no coincidence, since, as was mentioned, 90% of Russians have arrived in Norway in the past 10 years, but the immigration from Lithuania increased only two to three years before. Most of the participants have higher education, and the main cause for their coming to Norway was economical. Most Russian participants have a job according their education, while Lithuanian participants are overqualified for their jobs. These facts match the official statistics (see Chapter 3.1).

The land of origin for all Lithuanians participants is Lithuania, and Russian participants are from four different former-Soviet Union countries: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Latvia and Russia. This well reflects the distribution of Russians between the states of the former Soviet Union.

Russians reported better ability than Lithuanians in their mother tongue, Norwegian and English. The reasons for this are the different language policies in the participants' lands of origin, national consciousness, different social situations and the language itself. It is important to note that Lithuanians' and Russians' skills in their mother tongue are not so different in reality as it seems from their self evaluation

All the Lithuanian subjects can speak, understand, read and write in Russian and they speak and understand it 'perfectly' or 'very well'. In fact, only two of the Russians (RUS3 and RUS4 women) have proficiency in their land of origin's national language.

It looks as though the greatest influence on learning the Norwegian language is the attitude and motivation of the participants, not the length of stay in Norway. Other reasons could also play a role here– language aptitude, the ambition to find a better job, or the necessity to work a lot and the consequent lack of time. Most of the Lithuanian participants, unlike the Russians, came to Norway to work for only a short period, but then stayed longer or settled permanently. For this reason they did not start to learn Norwegian at the beginning – it was not necessary until they found out they were staying in Norway.

I also argued that English takes a special place in the participants' mind, some children even think that the most useful language in Norway is English.

As for the preservation of the mother tongue, the children are boundaries and symbols of family identity, manifested through talk, and they reflect their parents' attitudes and identities. The adult Russian participants (except for the one family with a Norwegian husband, in which the Russian mother thinks that Norwegian is her son's mother tongue and doesn't see the need to teach him Russian) in general take more effort to preserve their national language by training children than the Lithuanians, who think that mother tongue skills should come automatically. This results in a good proficiency of the Russian children in their mother tongue, while proficiency in the mother tongue for Lithuanian children varies from family to family.

Chapter 5: Language policy and ideology in the informants' countries of origin

In this chapter I will present the language policy and ideology in the informants' country of origin, as it determines the linguistic behavior of the informants and their understanding of national identity.

Since all the adult informants grew up in Soviet Union, the Soviet language policy will be described first. Then the construction of identities through language policy in

Russian-speaking communities of post-Soviet lands will be discussed. Finally, a special section will be dedicated to Lithuanian nationalistic policy.

5.2.1. Russian language policy in Soviet Union

Да будь я
и негром[3] преклонных годов
И то,
без унынья и лени,
Я русский бы выучил
только за то,
что им
разговаривал Ленин.

(Vladimiras Majakovskis
Нашему юношеству, 1927)[2]

The Soviet Union was an unprecedented state with a lot of paradoxes and one of those paradoxes was language. According to the official Soviet government's line, the nationality problem was solved, and all its republics, popularized by the government and ideologically Soviet poems, were called "sisters". It was claimed that the Soviet Union was a family of nations without any discrimination. In fact, this was believed that to be true. The collective political consciousness was to be developed above and beyond the particular national cultures and languages. In reality it was like O. Strietska-Ilina claims:

> The national and language policy of the Soviet Union was based on a totalitarian approach, where the state took the determining role in decisions to promote some cultures and languages, and assimilate or expel others. The cultural and language policy was directly linked to the system of territorial administration, with its hierarchical and in most cases accidental arrangement. An attempt to build up a unitary state, covered by the *façade* of federalism, and based on the principle of nationality, was combined with the promotion of a common identity for the whole nation – the Soviet people (O. Strietska-Ilina 2001, p. 257-258).

After the creation of the SU, Soviet intellectuals decided that Russian was ideally suited to express the Bolshevik ideology and the Russian language became the lingua franca of the Soviet Union. In spite of formal protection for other languages in the Soviet

Union constitution, the Soviet government spread the Russian language across the Union. The Soviet Union was designed as a multinational state, based on the highly institutionalized principle of the nationhood of its structural parts. The ethnic heterogeneity was established in national codifications, where ethnicity at some level was given a chance to experience nationhood, and where the Russian people always remained the dominant nationality; however, the Soviet Union was never a Russian nation-state (Brubaker 1992, 1996).

At the end, because of such language policies the Soviet Union became a country with a very complex language situation. Over one hundred nationalities were listed in its last 1989 census, where Russians constituted 50.8% of the population. The majority of these nationalities claimed that their national language was their mother tongue, and knowledge of Russian as a first or second language was claimed by about 62% of the non-Russians. Just 4.2% of the Russians were fluent in one of the national language (Kreindler 1997).

Right after 1917, the Soviet Union attempted to conduct language policy, and the essence of it was expressed by Stalin in 1918: "There is no mandatory state language - not in the proceedings, nor in school! Each region selects the language or those languages that correspond to the ethnic composition of its population, and maintain complete equality of languages as minority and majority in all social and political institutions " (Stalin I. V. [*Сталин И. В.*in Russian alphabet]). Unfortunately this language policy was changed quite soon and active Russification of all the constituent republics began. Officially it was explained that the policy of equality of all languages was opposed by the insufficient development of many languages: a significant number of languages did not have stable norms, some did not have a written form, and some, such as Arabic and Old Mongolian, used character sets that in those years were assessed as outworn and pulling towards the past. So the predominance of the Russian language as the fundamental communication tool in some Soviet countries — for example Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan — resulted of preference for Russians in the education of children what was forced by fare of the future of the children. “The choice of Russian as the language of instruction for children was often defined by parents as giving the best chances for social and professional adaptation, especially in urban countries” (Ch. Lord 2001, p. 256). The

growing number of Russian-language schools was observed in all national republics. Alpatov [В. М. Алпатов] (1995) describes that this situation in some cases left the local language only as a medium for communication in everyday life, which led to the de-socialisation of nation language and to assimilation. Only in rural areas did people preserve their national languages and it was possible to meet people who couldn't speak Russian. In the late fifties to early sixties to the Soviet Union's most active period of Russification (Alpatov [В. М. Алпатов], 2003), and by the 1980s Russian became the unquestioned language of inter-national communication and scientific advance in Soviet Union.

The consequence of the national language policy held in the SU since the late 1930's has been a sharp marginalization of ethnic languages by Russian speakers and in some communities by non-Russian speakers as well. Non-Russian population, who considered the language of national community as its native language, was decreasing steadily. The countries of Soviet Union experienced the intensive linguistic assimilation (M. V. Djachkov [М.В. Дьячков], 1993).

The expansion of the Russian culture and language was reinforced by the migration of Russians to urban industrial regions outside the Russian Federation and linguistic Russification of non-Russians. This is how, for example, in Lithuania the city called Visaginas arose. Russians form the majority there even today, and students with a background in Visaginas have great difficulties studying in the state language – Lithuanian. The reason for this is that Visaginas is highly Russificated and people living here don't feel a great pressure to learn Lithuanian. At home, shops, secondary school, work they use Russian without problems.

The result of this policy was that Russians were tied to the whole Soviet Union and formed the nucleus of urban based and industrial settler communities. N. Melvin (1995) draws the conclusion that Russians lacked a clear territorial identity – a homeland – other than the SU as a whole. The clear identification with the entire Soviet Union was propogated by the media and education system. Here is a citation of one of the most popular Soviet poems: "Moi adries ni dom i ni ulica, moi adres sovietskij sojuz." ("My address is not a house or a street, my address is the Soviet Union").

According N. Melvin, “Russo-Soviet culture served as the primary means by which other ethnic groups were assimilated into a general Soviet way of life; it was therefore central to the regime’s ultimate goal of creating the Soviet people (*Sovetskii narod*)” (Melvin, 1995, p. 8). Indeed, you couldn’t say that it was Russian culture that communists spread all over Soviet Union. It was Soviet culture, expressed in the Russian language by order, to create ideal Soviet men and Soviet people in general with common values, culture, language and history. Right after independence the satirical term *homosovieticus* was used to express those highly Sovietized persons, with an identity with the Soviet system.

Only Gorbachev's reforms of the 1980s, and *Perestroika* as a result of it, caused the re-thinking and re-construction the Russian identity. Most of the Soviet countries have always had a distinct identity and nationalism, and it exploded with the weakening of the Soviet bonds at the beginning of *Perestroika* and led to declarations of independence. And language was the major mobilizing force (J.A.Fishman, 1999) that led to the collapse and fragmentation of the Soviet Union. The rise of nationalist politics and fights for national independence across the Soviet lands (including the Russian Federation) accelerated the decoupling of Russian and Soviet identities and led to the question about their role in host republics and Russia.

The particular administrative practices and public policies pursued in the Soviet Union to link people and territories developed ethnic identities as national ones. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, nationalist movements emerged as the primary form of mass political mobilization, and brought the final disintegration of the Soviet Union. The national-territorial arrangement of the SU provided the political architecture for the post-Soviet political system – union republics became sovereign states (N. Melvin 1995). Thus how the individual and collective identities became national in form more than ever before.

5.2.2. Construction of identity in Russian-speaking communities of post-Soviet lands

Во дни сомнений, во дни тягостных раздумий о судьбах моей родины, — ты один мне поддержка и опора, о **великий, могучий, правдивый и свободный русский язык**! Не

> будь тебя — как не впасть в отчаяние при виде всего, что совершается дома? Но нельзя верить, чтобы такой язык не был дан великому народу!
>
> (Turgevev Ivan S. “The Russian Tongue”) [4]

After 1991, the development of language policy in Russia and most other former Soviet countries has developed differently. In the most of the states the policy of developing national languages and decreasing the role of Russian occurred. In the states of the former Eastern bloc (Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria), language and culture as symbols of national identity have experienced “a renaissance as a counterweight to the Soviet ideology which had held the nation-states of eastern Europe in an iron grip of delimited sovereignty” (J. A. Fishman 1999, p. 68). In the same work Fishman (J. A. Fishman 1999) notices that the English term ‘nation’ has different connotations from its equivalent in most Slavic languages and explains why language played such an important role in Eastern Europe national movements:

> the English “nation” is defined by its relation to the state, whereas, for example, the Czech “narod” is defined by its relation to the ethnicity. For this reason, the transformation of an ethnic identity to a national one is, in Slavic languages (with perhaps the exception of Polish), understood as a change, a “process” inside one and the same entity, whereas in English it means two different qualities (J. A. Fishman 1999, p. 332).

The Russian language had been a written language since the Middle Ages, in the 15th century it became the language of court and administration, the first Russian grammar appeared in 1757, and modern Russian literature began to develop from the end of 18th century. In the 1840s the doctrine on official Russian nationality was declared. Russian nationality was based on autocracy, Orthodoxy and nationality, where the language was a common feature of all these principles.

Within the Russian Federation, the Russian national question is of fundamental importance because Russia is not at all ethnically homogeneous. In certain areas, for example, Tuva and Czechnia, Russians even constitute a minority. A composition of the population of the Russian Federation is so ethnically heterogeneous that a one nation–one territorial unit approach definitely doesn’t fit. For example, just after the fall of the Soviet

Union, Russians made up 81,5 % of the population in the territory of Russian Federation; the other 18.5% were non-Russians such as Tatars, Kalmyks, Buryats, Komi, and more than 100 other ethnicities.

There is no question of establishing a national state, and Russia is the only such state on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The habit of public use of the Russian language is preserved and even increased in comparison with Soviet times. The official language is Russian, but all republics within the Federation also have the right to proclaim other languages as official.

The law regulates only some spheres of use of languages, mainly those in which the use of Russian language is obvious (drafting of Russian laws, the transfer of Russian TV and radio, etc.). All the more difficult questions are passed on to local authorities. Yet Kalmyk and similar languages can't be called endangered: in everyday communication in rural areas they are quite stable.

Despite the political difficulties, language restoration is taking place all over Russia. Language planners are working on Russian and on the smaller 63 national groups' languages which are officially recognized (Neroznak [Нерознак, В.П.], 1994). And still, there are some who criticise this. For example, Russian language politics (Kreindler, 1997) claims that it still disregards the rights of individuals and D. G. Torgensen (2009) writes that "the language policy coming out of the Kremlin today is simply a continuation of the soviet policy of using language as tool to homogenize those who are near the seat of power and exert pressure and influence in places that are removed it" (D. G. Torgensen, 2009).

To reinsure the well-being of the Russian settler communities, the relationship between the Russians abroad and the Russian Federation became a dominant issue in Russian internal politics and the development of Russian national identity (Alpatov [Алпатов], 2003). As we saw in the previous chapters, during the Soviet period extensive settlements by Russian-speakers developed in areas of national republics traditionally populated by non-Russian people. Thus the disintegration of Soviet Union created a situation in which these 'Russian' settlers suddenly found themselves living in newly independent national states. They consider themselves Russians, recognize the Russian culture, and Russian is their native language. As we see from the Russian participants in

this study, they never felt any tension about being Russian before they moved to Norway, and have always recognized themselves only as Russian even though some of them spent all their lives in Soviet countries other than Russia.

Russia itself has historically very mixed population. Soviet national policies (and Tsarism before that) hadn't created a well-defined ethnic or civic Russian nation that would coincide with the current territory of the Russian Federation. Therefore the link between an ethnic Russian (*russkii*) and Russia remained ambiguous, as did the link between Russia and non-ethnic Russians of the settler communities. The problem created an uncertain Russian national identity which has always been tied to an empire and never to a state (Kreindler, 1997).

To solve this problem a new term, *Russian diaspora*, defined a broad range of different people – ethnic Russians, Russian-speakers and others with some link to Russia, was introduced. As N. Melvin (1995) describes, the notion of the diaspora was

> subsequently integrated into the Russian nation. In this way, the debate about the diaspora became a central part of a conceptual and linguistic process of defining modern Russia and its place in the post-Soviet world. The transformation of the settler communities into a part of the Russian nation provided an important justification for Russian state involvement beyond the border of the Russian Federation (Melvin 1995, p. 6).

It seems that the creation of a *Russian diaspora* offered the Russians in post-Soviet lands a new identity of Russia as an historic homeland, and even more – forged a new Russian identity.

One further thing was done in order to solve the problem – the two alternative definitions of the Russian nation (*russkij* and *rossiiskii)* were fused together. These two terms with two different meanings in Russian language are normally translated into English as one word – 'Russian'. J. Clarke (2005) explains that

> in standard Russian of the post-Soviet period the first adjective, *rossiiskii*, is used officially to describe national identity in the sense of citizenship. On the other hand the second adjective, *russkij*, describes ethnic identity. The first term covers all citizens of Russia without regard to ethnic origins. The second term is applied to those whose ethnic origins are deemed to be Russian. (J. Clarke 2005, p. 12)

So the Russian diaspora became a central concept in defining Russian national identity.

As almost all new states after the collapse of Soviet Union have chosen to follow the model of a classical nation state with identity based on the titular nationality (Kreindler, 1997), over 25 million Russian who lived in these national states and almost never learned the national language suddenly gained the status of a minority.
To understand the attitude to language of our Russian participants, the language situation in their countries of origin (other than Russia) will be briefly described here.

Latvia. In Latvia, right after the Soviet Union collapsed, the Russians amounted to 33.9% and Latvians 51.8% of the population.

After independence Latvia become a single nation state, through citizenship and language legislation – only those who could trace their citizenship to the pre-war state received it. Latvian has been acknowledged as the official State language, and the State Language Inspectorate and the Language Commission for Testing was created. Thus Russian has become only one of the foreign languages.

Today the Latvian language is quite successfully introduced in the public administration and non-Latvians' knowledge of Latvian has increased a lot. But still Latvians feel threatened by the Russian language. In Latvia even those non-native speakers who know Latvian often refuse to use the official language even at work, where this is required by the Latvian legal acts (Ramoniene, 2010).

Language is very important for the Latvian identity. The representative of Latvian Language Training in Ryga, A. Priedite says: “The Latvian language is the most significant part of the Latvian identity. If it is taken away, nothing is left to replace it, the identity is lost.” (Priedite 1997, p.111).

Belarus. Belarus is considered as the most Russified republic (Woolhiser, 995) and its language especially problematic “given a weakly developed national self-identity” (Kreindler, 1997, p. 96). A language law passed in 1990 and affirmed Belarussian as the official language, but without enforcement provisions it failed. Parents were not sending their children to Belarussian schools, the republic is “seen as a model of regression” (Kreindler, 1997, p. 96). In a May 1995 referendum Russian was given an official language status alongside Belarussian.

Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan was never independent before. As Kreindler (1997) describes, its leaders were zealous propagandists of the Russian language. Russian had taken over the major role in higher education and was steadily gaining in basic schooling. Most of the Russians are now concentrated along the border with Russia, which makes the Russian problem a regional problem as well, with the threat of reunion. Moreover, right after the collapse of Soviet Union 59,8 % of the population had no fluency in the titular language (Kolstoe referred to in Kreindler, 1997), and Kazakh elite that felt more at home in Russian suppressed language revival (Dave referred to in Kreindler, 1997).

Anyway, Russian today is the language of trade and business throughout Russia and the former Soviet Union, but English is a major language of trade and business throughout the world. Even though Russian still more or less influences the post-Soviet national states, they also feel a new threat to their national languages. In our day the process of globalization has the greatest influence on changing national identity in all these countries. Post-communist countries didn't avoid the expansion of English and 'McDonaldization'. As Phillipson (Phillipson, 1992) describes, it has been deliberately promoted by the American and British governments. The teaching of English happened to be a multi-billion-dollar business for Britain.

To explain the global position of English, Pennycook (2000, p. 108-117) used 6 different frameworks: colonial-celebration, laissez-faire liberalism, language ecology, linguistic imperialism, language rights and postcolonial performativity. The most interesting and relevant for our issue are *colonial-celebration*, a traditional view that sees the spread of English as inherently good for the world; *language ecology*, which focuses on the potential harms and dangers of the introduction of English to multilingual contexts, and *linguistic imperialism*, which points to the interrelationships between English and global capitalism, "McDonaldization" and other international homogenizing trends.

From the point of *Linguistic imperialism* the dominant role of English in the world today is maintained and promoted through a system both of material or institutional structures (for example through English maintaining its current position as the dominant language of the Internet), and of ideological positions (arguments that promote English as superior language).

Language ecology is broadly conceived "as the way in which a language interacts with its environment, including the various activities that speakers of the language engage in, the institutional support that a language receives, and the encoding of ecological system" (Muhlhausler 1996, 2000 in to Patric 2007, p. 122).

From the *colonial-celebratory* position, English brings all the advantages of a superior language: culture, knowledge, wealth and happiness. This position, therefore, is bound to promote English for the larger benefit of the globe. At the beginning of 1990, right after the Soviet Union collapsed into the post-Soviet habitants, it seemed that English speakers carry modern culture, technology and wealth. This is why the English language and American culture was accepted in post-Soviet countries so quickly.

5.2.3. Cult of antiquity and purity in Lithuanian linguistic nationalism

> Ne žemės derlumu, ne drabužio skirtingumu, ne šalies gražumu, ne miesto ir pilies tvirtumu gyvuoja tautos, bet daugiausia išlaikydamos ir vartodamos savo kalbą, kuri didina ir išlaiko bendrumą, santaiką ir brolišką meilą. **Kalba yra bendras meilės ryšys, vienybės motina, pilietiškumo tėvas**, valstybės sargas. Sunaikink ją – sunaikinsi santaiką, vienybę ir gerovę. Sunaikink ją – užtemdysi saulę danguje, sumaišysi pasaulio tvarką, atimsi gyvybę ir garbę.
>
> Ištrauka iš Mikalojaus Daukšos „Postilės" („Postilla catholicka", 1599)[5]

The Lithuanian case was different from other post-Soviet national states because Lithuanians enjoyed a solid majority of 80%. The Russians amounted to 9.2% of the population, of whom 38% claimed fluency in Lithuanian. It was the highest percentage of Russian bilingualism in any republic (Kreindler, 1997). The nationalist movement in the 19th century with its centrality of language has left a big imprint in the consciousness of Lithuanian population, so the rumors that Lithuanian is one of the purest and most ancient languages, and therefore very valid, never left the country.

Today, Lithuania's minority communities account for 16% of the total population, where Russians amounts 6.31% and remain the largest group. Lithuanian has the dominant position within the state, and a majority considers it to be their first language (Hogan-Brun, 2005). Although the situation of the Lithunian language in Lithuania was one of the strongest in the Soviet Union, Russian immigration and the aggressive Russian

language campaign gave Lithuanians cause to fear that their nation and language was in danger.

In general there are similar linguistic processes in Lithuania as in many parts of Europe. However two things put this country, as a language society, in a slightly different situation: the late and artificially formed Lithuanian official standard language, and the years of Soviet occupation (1940-1990) when the Lithuanian language was forced from public life by the Russian tongue.

The Lithuanian language has its orthography and independent grammatical standards. Together with Latvian and Old Prussian it may go back as a unit to Proto-Indo-European. Lithuanian itself is described as ‘archaic’ – it retains a large number of features, particularly in declension, which one might assume to have been present at an earlier stage in the history of the Indo-European languages. As Ramoniene (1996) suggests, Lithuanian might be placed alongside Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit in its linguistic importance. The language has seven cases, numerous tenses, straightforward spelling and pronunciation, only two genders, and relatively simplified conjugation.

The standard Lithuanian was formed by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century by Jonas Jablonskis, who wrote the first grammar of standard Lithuanian (Lietuviškos kalbos gramatika 1901, 1919 and 1922), and Lithuanian has since been based on the southern sub-dialect of the Western Highlanders' (aukštaičiai) dialect, but some linguistic varieties were also taken from other dialects and the Prussian language. That meant that everybody in Lithuania needed to learn the standard language; no one could speak this ‘ideal’ Lithuanian language, and up till the end of 20th century there was nobody who would have the standard Lithuanian as his mother tongue.

As to time in Soviet Union, the description of Patric (Patric 2007, p. 111) about colonialism could fit here: “they have adopted certain material things and concepts that have been useful to their survival, while actively engaged in struggles to control their lands and retain their political, social and cultural autonomy.” When Lithuania regained its freedom in 1990 and became independent from the Soviet Union, the linguists at once began to discuss the condition of the Lithuanian language and openly described the enormous, negative impact of Russian on the Lithuanian language (Smiglevicius, 1990). E. Jakaitiene (1994), for example, describes that situation like this:

> Gradually, the Lithuanian language was driven out of party meetings and all public assemblies; it was completely replaced by Russian in such fields as aviation, railway and sea navigation…Bilingualism, as propagated and supervised by Soviet ideologists, was directed towards the destruction of the Lithuanian language. (Jakaitiene 1994, p. 21)

Not only did the number of spheres where Lithuanian was used shrink but the structure and vocabulary of Lithuanian language was affected too. Neverthless, Lithuanian continued to be used in some spheres of public life, education and media.

Lithuania first of all the former Soviet countries restored independence and regained its national Lithuanian language as the official state language. How important language is in the Lithuanian national identity shows also the fact that Lithuania restored its official state language while still in the Soviet Union. It was done under an amendment to the Constitution of Soviet Lithuania adopted in 1988. The constitutional article admittedly contained an additional stipulation that all residents should learn and use Russian as means of (international) communication with inhabitants of other Soviet Republics, but Lithuanian acquired equal status with Russian within the territory of Soviet Lithuania. When Lithuania restored its independence in 1991, Lithuanian became an official state language both *de facto* and *de jure*. Several institutions began to plan and regulate the Lithuanian language: the State Lithuanian Language Commission, the State Language Inspectorate and the County Language Services. Standard Lithuanian has regained its modern and multifunctional status, its prestige, and is used in all levels of public life. According to research performed recently in Lithuania, members of minority communities consider a good command of Lithuanian a necessary precondition for pursuing a career (Hogan-Brun, 2005).

After some years of independence, the social situation started to change. Lithuania was now an open country and felt both the good and the bad consequences of globalization. There were never before so many people in the world, so many means of intercommunication, so many intercultural and inter-language communications, as at the end of 20th century (Crystal, 2005). And none of the languages was so influential around the world as is English now.

From 1993 we can find articles (Rosinas, 1993; Zilinskiene, 1993), where Lithuanian linguists are concerned about the growing influence of English and its damage to the small Lithuanian language (Lithuania has a population of 3.3 million). With the increasing influence of the English language and American culture, linguists begin to worry that this voluntarily-taken language would cause greater harm to Lithuanian than the forcibly-imposed Russian during the period of Soviet Union. That's why during these 20 years of independence – after Lithuanian language became the State language – the intensive work on language standardization has been done: State Language Law, State Language Policy Guidelines and the Language Commission were established; the new subject 'The Standard Lithuanian Language' was brought in all secondary schools, higher schools and universities of Lithuania.

The mandate of the Commission comprised not only regulation and standardization of the language, but also implementation of the official language status. In 1993, the Law on the Status of the State Commission on the Lithuanian Language of the Republic of Lithuania was adopted, which obligated the Commission to address the issues of the codification of the Lithuanian language, usage of standards and implementation of the Law on Official Language, and rendered the Commission decrees on linguistic issues compulsory to all the companies, agencies, institutions, and the media. In 1997 'The List of the Biggest Language Mistakes in Lithuania' was adopted with the non-standard set of linguistic features of lexical, morphological, syntactic and phonological nature. This list is constantly renovated. Usage of non-standards from the List in a public environment is not allowed on penalty of a fine.

In 2003 the Lithuanian Parliament approved new State Language Policy Guidelines where the underlying objective is to strengthen public trust in the value and effectiveness of the Lithuanian language. It involves both the preservation of Lithuanian as a heritage language as well as its development. The following goals were set: 1. To ensure the functionality of Lithuanian in all spheres of public life; 2. To meet the new need of a knowledge-based society as determined by the EU; 3. To exert a planned and creative influence on the development of Lithuanian; 4. To promote its creative use amongst the public whilst adapting it to new functions in a rapidly changing society.

"At the start of the twenty-first century one in every 35 people is an international migrant. Monolingualism as a universal criterion for citizenship in a nation-state cannot be sustained anymore in the face of the language diversity of migrants and national linguistic minorities" (Moyer 2007, p. 137). According to statistical data, after Lithuania received its freedom and globalization began, migration increased vividly. Moyer's words describe today's changing situation in Lithuania very well. For example, in Lithuania's restaurants and cafés we find the menu in two languages – Lithuanian and English. In some places where are a lot of tourists coming from post-Soviet lands, one more language is added – Russian. It is very normal to order food in any of these languages.

Heller (2003, p. 473) (referred to in Moyer 2007, p. 142) points out that the globalized new economy is bound up with transformations of language and identity: "The mobility of persons for work and tourism, or the development of language industries (translation and language teaching) are just some examples where language and culture have been brought to the forefront of the present day economy." Today language is used not only in the process of selling products as a communicational tool, but more importantly has also become a product itself. Language does not necessarily need to be part of the individual's ethnolinguistic background any more, which means that they can be commodified by people who stake no claim to identity (da Silva 2007, p. 187). At the beginning of 1990 there were no such things as Lithuanian language teaching for foreigners in Lithuania. The first students were the workers of different ambassadors in Vilnius and their family members. They felt the need to learn Lithuanian language even though they hadn't an ethnic background in Lithuania.

Da Silvias definition of the globalization gives us a very good explanation of what is happening around the world — and Lithuania as well:

> Globalization: a big word that is meant to account for a multiplicity of processes and practices, namely an increase in quantity and rapidity of the circulation of people, identities, imaginations and products across borders. At the heart of globalization are discursive struggles over positioning and repositioning of actors as a result of the changing conditions of production and consumption of goods and identities. (da Silva 2007, p. 183)

Of course, globalization came to Lithuania with English as its accompanist. In spite of the efforts of the State Language Commission, language mixing, one-word code switching, lexical borrowings and neologisms survive. We can hear them most in young people's language and media. It is like Androutsopoulos describes:

> The use of English in the mass media of non-anglophone countries is traditionally attributed to Englishization, i.e. the infiltration of host societies and cultures by Anglophone – in particular American – technology and lifestyle (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). The traditional focus of this debate is on anglicisms, i.e. lexical borrowings (cf. Gard and Hupauf 2004 for German). Yet current uses of English in national language mass media also include one-word code-switching (nonce-borrowings), chunks, formulae, phrases or utterance, as well as English headlines and subtitles (cf. McClure 1998; Haarman 1989. Their frequency may be limited (for instance, single nouns are the main type of English code-switching in McClure's data. (Androutsopoulos 2007, p. 222).

Beginning from the symbol of globalization – McDonald's – foreign companies and private businesses use English names, and the State Commission is forced to make some allowances in this area.

Until 2006 the society of Lithuania still sought to reach the Lithuanian Language Association's target set in 1936 – to create the "ideal language", although the situation changed and it was possible to feel that old methods of language policies aren't effective any more.

Lithuania created a strict Language policy, but almost only language workers keep to all of the recommendations given by the State Commission. The language of the young people first shows general language changes and reflects the tendencies of its usage. The comparison between the usage of typical non-standard linguistic features in graduation theses, which were described by Zilinskiene (Zilinskiene, 1993) in 1993 (right after restoration of Lithuanians Independency from Soviet Union and before the process of globalization began in this country), and non-standard linguistic features of syntactic, morphological and lexical nature in Higher education graduation theses of students of Vilnius College, written in 1996-2005, showed that

- non-standard words from the Russian language are diminishing
- abundant use of English words is noticable

- the most common non-standard set of linguistic features of syntactic and morfological nature hasn't changed much
- students do not accept all recomendations of the State Language Comitee (J. Maciulyte 2006, p. 154-157)

In order to understand why students chose to use standard/non standard forms, 35 lecturers and 85 students of Vilnius College in Higher education filled in a questionnaire about the usage of new standard words concerning information technologies. In private life 75% of the lecturers and 9% of the students use them often, 13% of lecturers and 78% of the students use them sometimes, and 12% of the lecturers and 13% of the students do not use them at all. No one stated that they would always use these standard words in private life. In formal situations, for example a lecture, the situation was a little different. 24% of lecturers and 17% of students always use standard words, 41% of lectors and 46% of students use them often, 35% of lectures and 37% of students use them sometimes.

Why, despite all the State Commission's efforts, do people not use standard forms? In the questionnaire these reasons were mentioned: standard words are not clear (14% lect., 27% stud.), companion doesn’t understand them (26% lect., 25% stud.), linguists offered Lithuanian standards which do not meet the meaning of the English words (31% lect., 21% stud.), linguists too often change their point of view (28% lect., 13% stud.) (J. Maciulyte 2004, p. 133).

The most easily adaptable to all social processes are young people, and it is believed that the future of the language is always in the hands of young people, so students’ language has always had a lot of attention of linguists and individual teachers. “Schools are well known for their homogenizing role. They are site for teaching and transmitting a standard language, and also a place where common knowledge and values get established” (Bourdieu 1984, 1990) (referred to in Moyer 2007, p. 144). But from the example of Vilnius College in higher education we can see that even at schools the transmission of a standard language in Lithuania doesn’t go so well. And the main reason for that is that new standard forms suggested by the State Commission do not carry out the motive power of language production – the communication function, what supports

the speaker's interests. Niklas Luhmann's 1984 (reffered to in Haus, 2006, p. 74-79) considers communication as the synthesis of three selections, the unity of information, utterance, and understanding. The fourth factor is whether you have success or not. When a man can't successfully communicate, he chooses another form which will lead to success.

Yet at the end of 2010 it was stated in written form for the first time that the strict one language ideology doesn't fit for multilingual Lithuania any more. L. Vaicekauskiene argues there that the linguistic identity in present-day Lithuania is heterogeneous and multilingual and

> language users have the freedom and opportunity to choose the language in which they feel most comfortable and which they find to be the most appropriate for a particular reason in a particular situation. In this respect, the defensive ideology or 'one language ecology' which lies at the basis of language planning in Lithuania, particularly the prohibitive approach, has no future. (L. Vaiciekauskiene 2010, p. 299)

At the end, I would like to speak about communication generally in post-Soviet Lithuania. Svennevig in his article "Communication Strategies in a Joint Venture between the Nordic and the Post-Soviet Countries" (Svennevig 2006, p. 214-215) gives descriptions of different psycho-antropological studies of work related values in Nordic and Russian. In fact, Svennevig describes that several studies (Elenkov 1997, Naumov and Puffer 2000, Veiga et al 1995, Ardichvili and Gaspardishvili 2003) have noted a shift in values from the Soviet generation to the post-perestroika generation, with younger people converging more to the values represented in Western countries. Cultural values in Western countries are: low values for power distance and masculinity, high level values for individualism, middle or low values for uncertainty avoidance (formulation and regulation of social processes).

Soviet values were: high values of power distance, high levels of uncertainty avoidance (formulation and regulation of social processes), low values for individualism and masculinity. After the Soviet country has lower values for power distance, uncertainty avoidance and higher values of individualism.

Svennevig draws the conclusion that there is a clear tendency for most Russians – and certainly the older generation – to adhere to a value system of more hierarchical organization, more rigid formalization of procedures, and more collective, relationship-based social relations. I must say that Russians' and Lithuanians' values were influenced by Soviet ideology, are similar, and in this area experience the same changes in post-Soviet times.

5.2.4. Chapter summary

In this chapter I presented language policy and ideology in the informants' country of origin, as it determines a linguistic behavior of the informants and their understanding of national identity. The Soviet language policy was described first. Then the construction of identities through language policy in Russian-speaking communities in post-Soviet lands was discussed. Finally, a special section was dedicated to Lithuanian nationalistic policy.

The language policy of the Soviet Union was based on a totalitarian approach, where the state took the determining role in promoting Russian as the lingua franca of the Soviet Union. The consequence of such a national language policy was that the non-Russian population, who considered the language of a national community as its native language, was decreasing steadily and the countries of the Soviet Union experienced an intensive linguistic assimilation. The promoted Russo-Soviet culture served as the primary means to create the Soviet people with common values and behavior. Only *Perestroika* in 1980s caused the re-thinking and re-construction of such an identity. The rise of nationalist politics and fights for the national independence in all the Soviet lands (including the Russian Federation) accelerated the decoupling of Russian and Soviet identities and led to the question about their role in host republics and Russia. In the 1990s union republics became sovereign states and the collective identities changed into national identities (Fishman 1999, Alpatov 1995).

After 1991, the development of language policy in Russia and most other countries has gone differently.

Within the Russian Federation, the Russian national question is of fundamental importance because Russia is not ethnically homogeneous. In certain areas the Russian

language even constitutes a minority. Anyway, the habit of public use of Russian language is preserved from, and even increased in comparison to, Soviet times.

Soviet nationalities policies didn't create a well-defined ethnic or civic Russian nation that would coincide with the current territory of the Russian Federation. Therefore the link between an ethnic Russian (*russkii*) and Russia remained ambiguous, as did the link between Russia and non-ethnic Russians of the settler communities.

To solve this problem a new term, *Russian diaspora*, was created to define a broad range of different people – ethnic Russians, Russian-speakers and others with some link to Russian. The purpose was to create for the Russians in post-Soviet lands a new identity of Russia as an historic homeland, and even more – to forge a new Russian identity (Melvin, 1995).

In the most of the states the policy of developing national languages and decreasing the role of Russian took place. For example, in Latvia the national language is quite successfully introduced into public administration and the non-Latvian's knowledge of Latvian has increased a lot, but still Latvians feel threatened by Russian language.

The case in Lithuania was different from the other post-Soviet national states because Lithuanians enjoyed a solid majority of 80%, and Lithuanian was always used in schools, private life and some official spheres. The nationalist movement in the 19th century with its centrality of language has left a big imprint, and the rumors that Lithuanian is one of the purest and most ancient languages, and therefore very valid, never left the country.

When Lithuania restored its independence in 1991, Lithuanian became an official state language. Several institutions began to plan and regulate the Lithuanian language. Standard Lithuanian has regained its modern and multifunctional status and prestige. Lithuania created a strict puristic Language policy and until 2006 Lithuanian society still sought to reach the Lithuanian Language Association's target set in 1936 – to create the "ideal language", although the situation changed and it was possible to feel that old methods of language policy aren't effective any more. Recently, however, it was stated that a strict and defensive one-language ideology doesn't fit for multilingual Lithuania any more and has no future (Vaiciekauskiene, 2010).

In all the countries the Russian language today remains the language of trade and business throughout Russia and the post-Soviet Union, but English is a major language of trade and business throughout the world. Hence, even though Russian more or less still influences the post Soviet national states, they feel a new impact, this time from the English language.

Chapter 6: Relationship between the nationality and feeling of national identity

If you want to know yourself,
Just look how others do it;
If you want to understand others,
Look into your own heart.

(Johan von Schiller, "Tabulae Votivae" 1797)

In this chapter I discuss the relationship between the informant's nationality and their feeling of identity. First the answers about national identity from the questionnaires will be analyzed. Then the discourse analyses from interviews will be presented. I will show how Lithuanian and Russian immigrants understand their nationalism in Norway, how their feeling of belonging and national identity has been transformed and to what extent it affects linguistic practice.

As was mentioned in Chapter 2.5., the components of national identity are three: ethnic, social and official or civil. Due to changed cultural, territorial and political contexts, emigrants re-construct their territorial and historical memory, reconcile loyalty to more than one State and move from one cultural context to another. By analysis of participants' answers in questionnaire and interview, I will try to show how these changes affect understanding of emigrants' national identity.

It is possible to understand national identity in the senses of citizenship or ethnic origin. In the Soviet Union this issue was very clear – a person's ethnic origin was named nationality and this never changed, doesn't matter what citizenship they had.

If your parents were, for example Russians or Polish, you and your children would stay Russians or Polish all life, regardless of in which national republic of the Soviet Union you lived and how perfect in the national language you were. If your parents represented two different ethnic groups, they could choose with which ethnicity to identify their child or children. There were different lines in the passport for that – nationality (ethnic origin) and citizenship. A person could for example be a citizen of the Soviet Lithuanian Republic and be Russian, even though his/her parents and grandparents lived in Lithuania. This understanding of nationality has remained up to the present day in the former Soviet Union. Only life in multicultural and open Norwegian society constructs different understanding of the notion of nationality.

In the questionnaire all the Lithuanian adults marked their and their spouses' nationality as Lithuanian, and one boy from the LT4 family with a Norwegian father was marked as Lithuanian and Norwegian, because he has dual-citizenship.

One Russian man from the RUS1 family wrote that he has dual-nationality – Russian and Norwegian – and he wrote the same for his wife. However, she wrote that they have only Russian nationality. Their son and daughter were noted to have Norwegian and Russian nationalities. Children from the other families with both spouses Russian were marked as Russians. The boy from the RUS4 family with a Norwegian father was noted to have Dutch nationality, because the family lived in Netherlands for a while. All three family members were reported to have different nationalities – father Norwegian, mother Russian and the son Dutch. Another family with spouses of two different ethnicities, RUS5, wrote that their daughter has Russian and Norwegian nationality.

All the other Russian adults marked one nationality – Russian, even though not all of them are from Russia and some of them have citizenship of these national states. The RUS2 man's origin is Kazakhstan, the RUS3 man is from Georgia and Latvia, the RUS3 woman, girl and boy are from Latvia, and the RUS4 woman is from Belarus.

This was the reported objective national identity based on ethnic origin and citizenship, though informants do not have a common understanding of the notion of nationality.

Further subjective feelings of national identity, will be discussed. The subjective feeling can be completely different from the objective. For example, the boy from the LT4 family has a Lithuanian mother and a Lithuanian father, but his stepfather is Norwegian. The boy was born in Lithuania, has Lithuanian citizenship, but says that he is Norwegian and refuses to communicate in Lithuanian. The boy from the RUS4 family was reported to have Dutch nationality, but he considers himself Norwegian. He can speak and understand only Norwegian. Hence, ethno-genealogical parameters (such as ethnic origin and place of birth) are crucial for all adults of the both target group, but for the children it can be their ethnic origin, place of birth and/or whether they grew up in Norway that matters.

6.1. Understanding and feeling of national identity (self-reported case)

In the questionnaire the participants were asked what they feel they are. They could choose one or more of these answers: Lithuanian/Russian, Norwegian, European, World citizen, it is hard to say, other.

None of the adult participants found it difficult to determine who she/he is, and none of the adult participants reported that they feel themselves Norwegian.

Children who were less than six years old couldn't completely understand the question, so only the answers of the children who are six or more years old will be discussed and presented here.

From the questionnaire it is possible to see that the Russians have very strong identites as Russian. All eight answered that they are Russians. Two of them marked that they also feel European (woman from the RUS2, who came to Norway from Latvia) and a World citizen (woman from RUS1, who has lived in Norway for 16 years).

In that sense the Lithuanians in general have a broader understanding of themselves than the Russians: four feel themselves Lithuanian, three European and three World citizens (see also Appendix, Tables 15-17). To be European or a World citizen includes Lithuanian, but it also has means to be a part of a wider context than one particular nation.

Before drawing any conclusions it is worth looking at what, according to the participants, describes identity (see Appendix, Table 37). The participants think that language, the origin of the family, how you were brought up, the culture you prefer and the history of your country describe national identity. The native language itself is a part of identity, just unequally important for Lithuanian and Russian participants.

To be Russian for the Russian participants first of all means to speak Russian and to identify himself/herself with the history of his/her own country. It is the native language that determines the personality. As was shown in Chapter 4, most of them have consistent native language policies in their families and consciously pass it on to the children. Even though more than half of the Russian participants answered that they wouldn't like their children to have mother tongue teaching ("morsmålsundervisning") in Norwegian school, it is not because they think their children don't need the Russian language. Only one Russian woman doesn't want mother tongue teaching, because she thinks that Norwegian is the mother tongue for her child as she has a Norwegian spouse. The others point out such reasons: children attend Russian school and they speak Russian at home (two participants), it can provide low-level of teaching (two participants). All families with both spouses Russian prefer to speak Russian with their children, and spouses, where one of them is Norwegian, prefer to speak Norwegian with their children.

The history of the country and language are important issues for for Lithuanians as well. But unlike the Russian participants, the Lithuanians note that identity is most linked to the culture a person prefers.

All families with both spouses Lithuanian prefer to speak Lithuanian with their children, and one family, where one of them is Norwegian and has small children (2 and 6 years old), prefers to speak Norwegian with their children. Another family with one Norwegian spouse and an 18 year old boy from the first marriage in Lithuania uses two languages. The Norwegian man uses Norwegian language, his wife and stepson speak Lithuanian with each other and Norwegian with him. All the Lithuanian participants, except one man from LT1 who thinks that it is not necessary, would like their children to have "morsmålsundervisnig" in order not to forget their mother tongue because it's a treasure and because of the ability to communicate with relatives in Lithuania. None of the Lithuanian families make consistent steps in teaching their children the native

language. They expect that proficiency in native language will come automatically or Norwegian schools will help them by *morsmålundervisning*.

Most of the children with Russian parents feel Russian, and children with Lithuanian parents feel Lithuanian (see Appendix, Table 17), but some of them understand themselves to be Norwegian as well: one child from families with both parents Lithuanian, two children from families with both parents Russian, one child from families with one Norwegian and one Lithuanian parent, and one child from families with one Norwegian and one Russian parent. One child from a family with both parents Lithuanian feels himself European and two children (one from the family with both parents Russian and one from the family with one Norwegian and one Lithuanian parent) feel themselves World citizens. Children's understanding of their national identity is more variable than adults. It is not stable yet.

Children older than six years (five children from Lithuanian families and five children from Russian families), were asked what language they would like to speak with their children. Only one child from Lithuania answered that she would like to speak Lithuanian, two Lithuanian children would like to speak Norwegian, and two children would like to speak Norwegian and Lithuanian.

Efforts to pass on the native language in Russian families pay off. Three children from the Russian families would like to speak Russian with their children Russian, one Russian boy would like to speak Norwegian and Russian, and one boy Norwegian. Russian children definitely are more willing to keep their mother tongue than Lithuanian children. More about attitude and language choice will be discussed in Chapter 7.

In concluding this chapter about national identity, I want to note that both nations preserve their national identity putting weight on the factors that seem the most important for them. Language is the most important factor for Russians in the feeling of national identity, and so as was mentioned before many families make greater efforts than Lithuanians to preserve the native language in the family.

Lithuanians on the other hand put weight on the culture a person prefers and during the interviews they stressed the different culture between Lithuanians and Norwegians and expressed willingness to keep their own culture. For example, all the participants like comfortable Norwegian clothes, the politeness and secure society in

Norway. From the other side the LT1 man and wife reprehend Norwegian food; the LT2 spouse is indignant at the Norwegian custom of keeping their old parents in homes for the elderly and not with themselves as is common in Lithuania; and the LT4 wife calls it sacrilege that her husband's family eats meat on Christmas Eve as it is not allowed in Lithuanian catholic culture. Only one family, LT3, said that they keep their own culture, but try to adjust themselves to Norwegian as well. Russian participants on the other hand in general claim that they accept and keep both cultures – Russian and Norwegian. It is not that Lithuanians completely reject Norwegian culture; they accept things that they find positive from both Lithuanian and Norwegian culture, and reject things that they don't like in Norwegian or Lithuanian culture. The Russians do the same; it's just that they put different emphasis on that while speaking.

We can see that by introducing themselves in a certain way and attributing certain moral characters to their own nation and right or wrong behaviors, both Lithuanian and Russian participants build representations that are a basic part of their national group ideologies.

6.2. National identity, manifested through talk

Life is not the one you live,
but the one you remember
as you remember it
when you tell it.
(Gabriel Garcia Marquez citated by Anna de Fina in "Identity in Narrative", 2003)

As was mentioned in Chapter 2 identities are manifested through talk: the actual language, *we-code* and *they-code*, the content and context. In this chapter it will be shown how national identities are shifting and negotiated within the talk of Lithuanian and Russian participants, and that the *we-code* and *they-code* cannot be taken as given and can change during the talk. As was mentioned earlier (Chapter 2.5) some of the national identity's components (ethnic, social and civil) are more stable, some of them more fluid.

Discourse fits perfectly for the study of identity because it always expresess personal experience and understanding of events in a subjective and culturally determined way. Furthemore, some linguistic strategies are always used in discourse that are related to conception of the self and others.

All informants could choose the language they would like to write the answers to questionnaire and speak during the interview. Lithuanian informants chose to use Lithuanian and Russian informants chose Russian. So the preferred code for informants was their native language. The native language is definitely *we-code* for adults' informants. Its province is the family and people with the same native language. Russians and Lithuanians use their native language at home and in intimate talk. Lithuanians also use Lithuanian in official situations, for example work, to communicate with people of same origin. Russians are more reserved in that case.

It is more complicated with the children, and in some cases it is not possible to make a priori assumptions about which code has the putative 'we' functions and which 'they' functions. In only some of the oldest is the ethnic language fully understood and expressed as *we-code*. This is for the 17 year old Lithuanian girl from LT1, the 18 year old Lithuanian boy LT5, and the 15 year old Russian girl from RUS2. The Lithuanian boy and girl switch Norwegian language to Lithuanian as soon as they can, and the Russian girl is convinced that Russian is the most beautiful and richest language and Norwegian can't compete with it. For the children from LT4, RUS4 and RUS5, *we-code* is Norwegian. For all others, *we-code* depends on the social context.

For Lithuanian children the ethnic language is *we-code* at home and with siblings or Lithuanian friends, regardless of whether if it is in a Lithuanian environment (as for example, home or Lithuanian school) or Norwegian (for example, on a bus). For Russian children the ethnic language is *we-code* at home and with siblings or Russian friends in Russian environment, but Norwegian language is *we-code* in Norwegian environment. With Norwegian friends both the Lithuanian and Russian children have Norwegian as *we-code*. They feel themselves or want to feel as part of the Norwegian children, but not as one from the ethnic minority group.

Asked directly in questionnaire none of the adults felt Norwegian, but in the talk their self identification in some cases changed.

For example **LT5's discourse (see Appendix, Discourse 1).** In this talk we can see that national identity is argued to remain stable and none of its components are changing. The woman and her son feel Lithuanians ethnically, socially and officially. The woman in particular has the strong position that only origin and mother tongue are important in the person's feeling of identity, and any social changes such as new languages or different culture, or civil changes such as different citizenship, can't change the origin identity (lines 1-5). The repetition in different words about never changing feeling in connection with Lithuanian nationality has the effect of emphasizing the importance of this fact (*tu niekad nesijausi norvegas* (line1), *tu vis tiek nebusi norvegas* (line 2), *tu nebusi* (line 3), *tavy ta nuomone nepasikeis* (line 5)). The woman understands nationality as given from the birth and transferred by the mother (*ta tapatybe turi ateiti su motinos pienu*, line 4). She highlits numerical identity which is, as I described in Chapter 2.1, fixed. In this light generic identity, which is something that places individuals into groups together with other individuals of the same kind, also seems unchangeable for her. Even if the person speaks perfect Norwegian, according to her, he/she will never be Norwegian (*Nesvarbu, kad tu kabesi norvegiskai idealiai, bet tu nebusi* (line 3). She accepts that Lithuanian can resemble Norwegians by speaking Norwegian (qualitative identity), but it doesn't seem enough for her to cause changes in feeling of national identity and nation. Nation and language are very frequently connected in her discourse. To identify himself/herself with the nation means to speak nation's language (*jeigu tu tapatiniesi su ta tauta* (line 17)…*tai kaip gi dabar nekalbesi savo kalba?* (line 19). Neverthless, the woman distinguishes the nation and government of the nation. She doesn't like how government rules the nation and expresses it in line 18: "*mes sakom: o va cia ten tokia ar anokia, gerai, bet tai valdzia, bet patys zmones* "('we say: it is such and such {government}, ok, but it is government, but people themselves'). In this line we can see clear opposition between the government and the nation as well. In line 18 she says *but people* and in line 19 she adjusts herself by saying *the nation itself.* It is the people of Lithuania, or Lithuanians, she identifies herself with. I must note that in this line *tauta*, clearly means ethnicity, not nationality, but in Lithuanian language it is only one word for ethnical and national – *tautinis,*and semantical difference of ethnical and national is very ambiguous for ordinary Lithuanians.

Line 18 is interesting because of the changed pronoun. Throughout the discourse the pronoun *tu* (*you* in singular) is used, but in this line *tu* is changed to *mes* (*we*). Both pronouns show that discourse is other-oriented since the use of *tu* and *mes* represents detachment from the self as a specific individual.

The frequent use of *we* is observed and described by Anna de Fina (2003) in her study about Mexican immigrants in America. This phenomenon she calls chorality, and argues that choral evaluation is presented by immigrant speakers as an essentially collective enterprise. I have to notice that use of *tu* in the above discourse is an even stronger collective enterprise. It has the opposite semantic connotation in the sense that in the case of *we* plural is used instead of singular, instead of one person's experiences, and in the case of *tu* singular *you* is used to vanish between many other personalities, to identify yourself with a whole nation.

Tu is used to express statements completely obvious to the narrator, statements that she is completely sure everybody should accept, and *mes* is used to express collective enterprise that can be disputed by some Lithuanians. Both pronouns show that the discourse producer identifies herself with the nation, she doesn't exclude herself from the nation. Where she explains that it is impossible for a person to become Norwegian, she describes her own thoughts and feelings and at the same time she is convinced that it fits to everyone: her, me as interlocutor, all Lithuanians. While talking about dissatisfaction with the Lithuanian government, she understands that probably not everyone feels the same. In fact, saying *tu* in this context could sound as though she accuses me, her interlocutor, of being dissatisfied with the Lithuanian government, and she doesn't know if I am. That's why the use of *mes* is more appropriate – it still shows collective enterprise, but not necessarily including me or those Lithuanians who like the government.

The laugh after line 9 is also meaningful. It indicates that the importance of the mother tongue is so obvious for her that it is almost stupid to ask her about that (lines 9-10). When I showed that this is not so obvious by asking her why she thinks so, she is slightly distracted (*Na, kaip kodel?,* line 16) and her explanatory speech is not flowing afterwards (lines 17-19).

Her son adopts the same *tu* strategy and the same approach to the strong interface between language and nation (lines 8-12). Even though he is not sure how to formulate this, he says it somehow, feels that his discourse sounds a little bit strange and keeps silent for three seconds thinking. To rescue him and keep a cozy atmosphere, I change my interlocute (line 13).

Although in the beginning of his speech the son brings up another aspect of national language. He sees language as a bridge in communication with his own family such as for example his grandmother and grandfather. Missing the native language for immigrants can mean losing communication with some relatives.

A second example could be **RUS3's discourse (see Appendix, Discourse 2).** In this talk we can see that national identity is seen as stable for the adult woman (lines 1-6), but she thinks that it is different for her children (lines 7-9). She can't change her feeling of belonging because her personality is completely formed and will not change (line 4), even though she accepts some things that she finds positive from both cultures and rejects things from the both cultures that seem negative (lines 10-12).

An interesting thing is that this family came from Latvia where both children were born and spent the first years of their lives, and still feel Russian. They completely accepted Russian culture and never thought about an identity different than Russian; only now living in Norway, does the family begin to accept that the children may feel Norwegian and will not need the Russian language. So in this understanding national identity is quite stable for the adult (although the Russian cultural and social unit is slightly covered with the Norwegian one), but is in transformation for the children.

From this discourse it is possible to see that national identity for this Russian woman is not something that is given by birth or early circumstances, but is changing and can even be chosen at a young age (lines 7-9). Family is a zone for reflection and contention about both cultures – Russian and Norwegian – and she, as a mother, is intermediate in it (lines 8-12). The fact that two cultures are presented in their home is so important that the interviewee amplifies it with a supporting word *niet (no)* that actually means *yes*: *yes we do not reprehend one and do not raise another culture.*

National identity according to the interviewee is received through participation in the cultural community – Norway. It is culture that is most important in identity

awareness (lines 1-4). The woman mentions one of the parts of Norwegian culture – food. She can't be Norwegian, because she will never accept Norwegian food (lines 2-6). She emphasizes this fact using one word code switching on 4-5 lines. She chooses Norwegian word *brødskiver* instead the Russian word for sandwiches and in that way perfoms Norwegian identity (more about code-switching in Chapter 7). Here I must note that nutrition, as one of the main physiological needs and absolutely necessary to survive, is often stressed by immigrants.

The second thing in connection with national identity that comes up in this discourse after the culture is the language of origin, or mother tongue. The mother tongue determines the way of thinking, which is why it is so important. Speakers of Russian have a different mentality, which distinguishes them from speakers of other languages such as Chinese, Norwegian and English (20-24). In this way Russian is showed in opposition to the Chinese, English and Norwegian languages.

Even though, she lives in a Norwegian environment and Norwegian is the second language for her children, Norwegian goes in the same line with other foreign languages (Chinese, English) to her. It is just one more foreign language that doesn't determine mentality, and so identity as well.

The Russian woman has self-oriented talk. She conveys her Russian identity with pronoun *Ja (I)* when she speaks about her thoughts and experiences and *mi (we)* when speaks about her and her children. She doesn't imagine speaking for all the nation as the Lithuanian woman in the first discourse does. Using *Ja (I)* she shows that she has her own strong opinion as a subject. The question *Soglasna? (' Do you agree?')* on line 18 has another purpose than her need of my approval. It is asked only to be sure that I follow her thoughts. I answered positive, but if I would have answered *no* or *I don't know,* most likely she would continue with the same explanation.

LT3's discourse (see Appendix, Discourse 3) is of interest as well.

This discourse is very interesting because of several cases. First is the use of pronomens. Interviewer answers in my question using the pronomen *As (I)*, but after some sentences moves to the pronomen *tu (you)* which, as I argued before, is an essentially collective enterprise. This other-oriented discourse is a general characteristic of the Lithuanians, while the Russians answer to the same question with the first singular

pronoun Ja (*I)* and continue with it. Both languages from the linguistic point of view have the same opportunities, so this phenomenon must have some psychological reasons. Maybe *tu (you)* for the Lithuanians works as a protection mechanism in an insecure society. Using *tu* they detach themselves from their own personality and then it is safer for them to express their private feelings and thoughts, because then they speak as if not only about themselves. Maybe the Lithuanians feel less secure than the Russians because of their historical memory, political and economical issues in their country of origin, a lack of language knowledge and knowledge about Norwegian society in general.

Another thing that is of interest because it distinguishes this discourse from the others is the woman's attempts to build and negotiate a negative identity for Norwegians and a positive one for Lithuanians in connection with the inner qualities. In other families' discourse negativity is directed only to Norwegian food (for example RUS3's discourse, lines 1-6).

The woman uses ethnic labels that create Norwegian-Lithuanian opposition. *Friendly* is a trait that characterizes Lithuanians and it opposes them to the local group - *cold* Norwegians (lines 13-15). Such labeling is connected with an attitude that one ethnic group holds toward another, and it can seem like factual for the discourse producers because of such psychosocial factors as a long-term isolation from the local group due to Norwegian language skills. The woman has lived in Norway for seven years with minimum local language skills (see Appendix, Table 6) and she is the only one from all adult participants with only secondary school education (see Appendix, Table 4). It is possible that due to language skills and low education she has difficulties adjusting to and integrating herself in a new society.

The third point of interest is that discourse producers openly represent contesting and discussing identities when they present in a positive way one Lithuanian woman as a character breaking Lithuanian social rules (lines 45-55).

The whole discourse began from the ethnic identity as *we-code* as a starting point (lines 1-19), but during the talk this Lithuanian identity was covered by a slightly Norwegian one (lines 36-55). The woman understands nationality as given from the family. It is a family that forwards national culture and language (lines 7, 18). She stresses on unchanging numerical identity until her husband joins the conversation and

highlights generic identity by placing himself into one brought group – *human being* (lines 26-27). Then he narrows it to *Lithuanian* and *European*. He doesn't manage to cross European boarders even though he tries in line 28. He says that he can be Lithuanian, European or African, but after a short pause corrects himself. This self-repair is meaningful, as is the laugh coming right after it (line 29). It shows boundaries in the feeling of identity. The stereotype of an African man for Lithuanians is a man with a black skin; the interlocutor has white skin, so he can't be African (even though this statement is not true in reality). He has been too quick to speak, has talked nonsense and it is obvious for everybody in the room — that's why it is funny.

As was described in Chapter 2.5 modern immigration is different from that after the Second World War, and immigrants do not always feel gratitude towards the host country but rather express mixed feelings for the host society. We can see this from the lines 13-15 discussed above. The woman feels that Norwegians don't accept her and she thinks that they are cold people. But when her husband enters the room and claims the broader understanding of national identity – as European or human being, but not only Lithuanian – the talk turns to the different link, the interlocutors show that they are positive to some Norwegian values, so the integration, or 'Norwegianization', can take place.

Norwegian identity comes into play when the participants accept values attached to the different codes, for example, clothes fashion in Norway (lines 26-38). Dressing is quite an important part of identity as it belongs to daily activities, and expresses personality and belonging to one or another social group. Even though globalization around the world continues to unify people's clothing, it still varies from nation to nation. Each nation has its own traditions for clothing, because native clothing comes from the climate and wide variety of living conditions.

The emphasis to the statement "*you will become like the persons you communicate with*" is given through repetition of crucial lines uttered by both interlocuters. First the man states it (line 34), and then at the end of the discussion the woman repeats it (line 55). Also in the middle there are repetitions and assertions made by both interlocutors that this statement is true (lines 43-44). That is how the new identity takes place – through communication. It is good to remember Tajunaite's and

Labanauskas' (2009) notion I described in Chapter 2 that the most important criteria in selecting whether to belong to one country or another is whether there is any opportunity to become one of the local people or not.

Discourse 4 (see Appendix), RUS5. This Russian woman has self-oriented talk. As with the woman from RUS3, she uses personal singular pronoun *Ja* (*I*) to refer to herself and conveys her Russian identity by telling about her Russian background (lines 1-14). This background is very important for her as a part of a fixed identity that will never interchange (lines 15-20) and is a boundary between her Russian and Norwegian identity. For this reason she can't feel one with the Norwegian culture (line 21-29), even though she feels accepted in the Norwegian environment because she speaks the local language (line 30-33) and has the opportunity to become one of the natives.

The laugh (line 17) at the beginning of conversation shows two contesting identities and is meaningful. Her statement that she is not Norwegian and even doesn't try to be Norwegian (lines 1-2) is in complete opposition to what comes after. The woman is very closely connected with the local language and environment. She uses Norwegian at her job and private life, has Norwegian education, and is a Norwegian language teacher. These facts show that she has all the conditions to feel Norwegian, but she doesn't, and this contradiction makes interlocuters laugh.

The wife's Norwegian identity emerges in interaction with her Norwegian husband. The wife says that she is Russian in the beginning (lines 1, 20), but when later her husband says that she is Norwegian, she agrees that she is 'norwegianized' and differs from the Russians who live in Russia. Moreover, she doesn't object to her husband's assertion that she is actually Norwegian and seems to be glad that he thinks so (lines 54-64). Here comes another laugh. The second laugh was caused by the same reasons as the first one. It is the conflict between two statements – in the second case, question and answer (lines 61-63). The answer was different from that which all interlocuters expected to hear. Question whether his wife was more Russian nine or more years ago, the husband answered negative (the expected answer was positive). He accepts his wife as Norwegian not only because she speaks the Norwegian language, but also because of her behavior and the clothes she wears (line 56-58, 68-69). Clothes were also mentioned by his wife herself earlier in the discourse (lines 49-53). She discussed and contested her two

identities when she told of her visit to Russia, where she was no longer accepted as a true Russian because of her Norwegian accent and way of dressing. Contesting and accepting two identities through clothes is not a new issue. I have described it in the discourse with the Lithuanian family LT3, as well.

This discourse can be seen as a shared representation about the self and the others. It allows interlocutors to answer questions about themselves and others in relation to who they are, who belongs to their group, and what basic values characterize their ethics. The wife's understanding of her national identity begins to change when a new culture takes place in her life. When culture and origin united, cultural and social units and territorial and political units became unstable, because of the life in a new culture and new territory, she reworks her relationship with another society and (re)establishes the national identity. There is code-switching in this discourse as well, but as it will be discussed in the next Chapter, I will not analyse this phenomenon now.

6.3. Chapter summary

In this chapter I have analyzed the relationship between the nationality and feeling of national identity by analysis of self-reported feeling of national identity in questionnaires and manifested national identity in discourse.

The analysis has shown that both Lithuanians and Russians immigrants feel a tension to maintain, transform or maybe even lose their national identity. However, Russian participants have a very strong national Russian identity, and Lithuanians participants identify themselves in broader contexts as Europeans or World citizens. Both nations preserve their national identity putting weight on the factors that seem the most important for them. Language is the most important factor for the Russians, so many families go to greater efforts than Lithuanians to preserve the native language in the family. Language is one of the most important factors for the Lithuanians as well, but they put more weight on the culture a person prefers, and during the interviews they stressed the different culture among Lithuanians and Norwegians. Preservation of national identity is characteristic for both nations, but on the other hand migrants gradually reconstruct their nationaly identity, move from one cultural context to another and integration takes place.

Such a social environment as family leads to the (re)construction of the different social groups – to identify with, or conversely to separate themselves from, the nation – and it is possible to see the manifestation of that in the language of utterance.

Discourse with adults began from the ethnic identity as *we-code* in a starting point, and in the most cases it stayed stable. But, for example, during the talk with LT3 and RUS5 this Russian/Lithuanian identity was covered by lightly Norwegian one. The participants accepted the values, attached to the different code, and expressed their identity through the content and context. They follow their ethnic traditions, but accept Norwegian traditions as well, taking from both cultures things that seem reasonable to them. Both the Lithuanians and the Russians have the feeling of belonging to two societies.

The use of linguistic devices such as the first singular or second singular pronouns to refer to themselves is meaningful as participants convey their identities by it. I argue that for the Russian participants the first singular *Ja (I)* is common, while the Lithuanians prefer the second singular pronoun *tu (you)*. This *tu* phenomenon could be kind of lack of courage to reveal one's experiences and can work as a protection mechanism in an insecure society.

For the Russian participants self-oriented talk is common. They convey their identity with pronoun *Ja (I)*. Lithuanians detach themselves from their own personality and vanish between many others by using *tu (you)*. *Tu* is an essentially collective enterprise.

The laugh in discourse is also meaningful as it shows the boundaries in understanding of identity.

The analysis of the discourses outlined in this chapter showed four cases of adults' understanding of identity:

1. Identity is stable for both adults and children. If you are born Lithuanian/Russian you will stay Lithuanian/Russian all your life no matter what (Families LT1, LT5 and RUS1, RUS2).
2. Identity is stable for adults, since it is too late for them to be one with different culture, but the personalities of children are not yet formed, so

their identity changes, they can be/are ‘norwegianized’ and/or feel Norwegians (Families LT4, LT2 and RUS3, RUS4).

3. Identity is slightly changing, when a person lives in a different culture. So both adults and children are ‘norwegianized’ (Family LT3).
4. Identity is changing – a person is ‘norwegianised’ and become/feel Norwegian at the end (Family RUS5).

In interview, the participants expressed collective values through their own evaluation of life in Norway and used nationality as an important identification category for self and others. In the discourse analysis it is possible to see how the shift from Lithuanian/Russian to Norwegian in the discourses connects the same speaker to different national identities. The participant’s sense of belonging to one and/or another nation is expressed through the categorization, labeling and is seen as holding the same values and behaving in particular way. They conveyed contradictory dual and hybrid identities by shifting self-description in connection with different societiess and experience.

Chapter 7: Language practices (language choice and language use) of the informants

Po bemiegės nakties
esu aplipdyta
saldoku glitimu.
Limpa ir limpa svetimžodžiai.
Ar dar nepraradau savo kalbos –
paveldėto veidrodžio –
atspindinčio tikrąjį veidą? [9]

(poem „ Aš – ne aš“ written by Jurate Sucylaite, modern Lithuanian poet and psychiatrist)

In this chapter I will discuss language use and the language choice of the informants, factors that affect them and how the participants index and preform their identities by that.

In general, several factors taken together influence the language choice of bilinguals, and some factors may have more weight in that phenomenon than the others. “Bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages” (Grosjean 2010, p. 29). Grosjean found four main categories that are involved in language choice of bilinguals. They are participants, situation, content of discourse and function of interaction (Grosjean, 2010).

First, the situation category will be described. It will be shown that the location of the interaction is an important language-choice factor.

Within the participants category there are some factors that are crucial for language choice. The participant’s attitude toward a language and a group will be discussed in this chapter. The language proficiency of the speaker and the interlocutor has been discussed in Chapter 4.2, and some facts about it will be discussed in this chapter as well. Other factors include the language history between participants, age, the socioeconomic status of participants, their degree of intimacy, the power relationship between them, and so on. I present the general language choice of participants and their personal background in different chapters, but unfortunately I do not have enough data to draw any conclusions how these recent items influence the language choice of my informants.

At the end, code-switching and borrowing in informants’ discourse will be analysed and two categories like content category (some topics are better dealt with in one language than other) and the function of the interaction category (choosing a particular language to raise one’s status, to create a social distance, to exclude someone, to request something, or to give a command, and so on) will be presented.

7.1. Location as an important language-choice factor

The data concerning my informants’ language choice, confirms that language skills just shows abilities to make the choice, but can’t alone explain the use and choice of the language. The children’s language choice was mostly described in previous chapters, and here I will concentrate on the adults’ language use and choice.

For example, **LT1**.

Husband: He can speak and understand four languages – Lithuanian and Russian fluently, English and Norwegian a little. He speaks Norwegian, Lithuanian and sometimes English at his job. He speaks Lithuanian with his family members and with his Lithuanian friends. He speaks Norwegian with his Norwegian neighbors and Lithuanian with his Lithuanian neighbors. He also speaks Norwegian in the shop and with the office workers. He sometimes speaks Norwegian with the doctors.
Wife: She can speak and understand four languages – Lithuanian and Russian fluently, Norwegian and English a little. She doesn't work and speaks Lithuanian with family members and friends. She speaks Lithuanian with her Lithuanian neighbors and friends often. She speaks Norwegian in the shop often, and seldom with doctors.

Even though both spouses are fluent in Russian language, they don't use it in everyday life – home or in public places. They do some code-switching (see Chapter 7.4) and watch Russian movies or sometimes read Russian books though.

The second example is **RUS4's woman**.

She can speak four languages – Russian, Norwegian and Belorussian fluently, and English well. At her job she speaks Norwegian. She speaks Russian with Russian friends and Norwegian with Norwegian friends. She speaks Norwegian with her family members, neighbors, and in the shop. With the doctors she seldom speaks Norwegian.

The woman can speak Belorussian fluently and used this language living in Belorussia in her everyday public life. This language is irrelevant in Norway, so she stopped using it at all. She is married to a Norwegian and their home language is Norwegian. This is why she reduced her usage of Russian to the language she speaks with the Russian friends and parents. Her son doesn't speak with his grandparents, because he speaks and understands only Norwegian. He can't speak Russian and they can't speak Norwegian.

In general Lithuanians and Russians deal with their home language in a very similar way. In the most of the families the native language is dominating one. Only the families with one Norwegian spouse have a different pattern. We can say that the home language is a symbol of family national identity.

The participants' language choice at home is shown in tables 10 and 11 (see Appendix).

Even though both groups use both Norwegian, their native language and sometimes English in public places, the language choice of the Lithuanian and the Russian participants sometimes is different (for the details see the Appendix, Tables 18-32). For example, both groups mostly use Norwegian in shops, but when communicating with office workers the Lithuanians slightly more often choose to use the native language than the Russians. The Lithuanians more often choose to communicate with doctors in their native language than Russian, and the Lithuanians use their native language to speak with their neighbors more often than the Russians as well. The reason that the Lithuanians communicate with their neighbors in a native language more than the Russians is that the Lithuanian participants have more Lithuanian neighbors than the Russian participants have Russian ones. There is a tendency among Lithuanians (those who do not have Norwegian spouse) to seek their living place through other Lithuanians. That's why there often live several Lithuanian families in the same area.

Concerning doctors, it is possible to find doctors with a native Russian or Lithuanian language in Norway. For example, LT2's regular doctor (*fastlege*) has Lithuanian as a native language. Lithuanians also like to go to doctors in Lithuania, but it is more difficult for the Russians to do the same thing, because of the travel time and cost.

Also the Russian informants' language choice with the persons of the same origin differs from Lithuanian ones. The adults were asked what language they choose to communicate with Lithuanians/Russians at their job if Norwegians are around. All Lithuanians answered that they speak Lithuanian with Lithuanians, because it is more comfortable for them, and they switch language to Norwegian when they speak with Norwegians. In Russian families it was different. Participants who work in international companies were OK with any language at work, but participants with jobs where the majority was Norwegian, such as teachers, said that they speak only Norwegian at work, even when two Russians speak with each other, because they perceive it as incorrect and unacceptable to speak another language than Norwegian at work. To the question if someone from the job told them that it is unacceptable to speak mother tongue, those participants answered negative.

Tables 13 and 14 (see Appendix) present the adults' language choice at their job and children's language choice at their school. The data was obtained from the questionnaire that the participants completed during the interviews. It reveals that the Lithuanian participants use a broader range of languages in their job or school than the Russians.

It looks like Russians more than Lithuanians care about not standing out from the people around and to become one of them with the assistance of language. On the other hand Lithuanians choose that language that they and their interlocuters are most comfortable with.

One of the reasons for such different tendencies between Lithuanians' and Russians' language choice could be that the Russian language is more stigmatized (more in Chapter 3.3) and more recognizable than Lithuanian. It is also possible that as Lithuanians were used to balancing two languages in Soviet times in order to keep their national identity, they still use this practice today. It is necessary to keep in mind the personal character of each Russian and Lithuanian interlocutor as well, because language use and choice can vary from family to family, from person to person. This process is very complex and there are always several factors at play.

These examples show that both national groups' choice of the home language is similar, but in a public place Lithuanians use their native language more often than Russians.

7.2. Language choice and attitude toward Norwegian and language of origin

The prestige language is usually considered to be more beautiful, more expressive than the other language, so participants (aged more than six years old) were asked what they perceive to be the most beautiful language. During the project of Lithuanian language institute and University of Vilnius about the language use and national identity in Lithuania cities "Kalbų vartojimas ir tautinė tapatybė Lietuvos miestuose" (2007-2008), 2037 respondents answered the same question and it was found that the most beautiful language for them is their mother tongue. Knowing this fact I was so sure that for my respondents the most beautiful language would also be the mother tongue, and I was

completely wrong. Even my two Norwegian participants answered that the most beautiful language for them is Swedish. From all Lithuanian and Russian participants only the LT3 boy answered that Norwegian is the most beautiful for him. The mother tongue for both groups took second place.

The results of this question are following. Most of the Lithuanians think that the most beautiful language is English (five participants). Four Lithuanian participants think that the most beautiful language is Lithuanian, two participants chose Spanish, one Italian, one Russian, one Norwegian, and one French. For the most of the Russians the most beautiful language is Italian (four participants), three participants said that the most beautiful language is Russian, three French, one Spanish, one Latin, one Scottish. Two participants couldn't answer this question. The preferences of the participants are hard to explain, because if for example, English is one of the most used languages in the world, Italian is definitely not. Moreover the participants sometimes chose languages that they can't speak or understand, just because it sounds beautiful for them. So the statement that the prestige language is considered as more beautiful and expressive than the other language wasn't true for my informants.

Let's check how Grosjean (F. Grosjean 1982, and Chapter 2.3. of this study) described effects caused by the negative or positive attitudes toward a language works in my target groups' life:

1. *The majority or dominant language is learned by the majority and the minority groups, but the minority language is learned only by members of that group*.

The Norwegian language is learned and used by the majority in Norway and such minorities as Lithuanians and Russians learn it as well. On the other hand few of the majority members learn Lithuanian or Russian. Only some of these who have Lithuanian or Russian spouse or are connected with Lithuanian/Russian through their work do so.

2. *Learning of a mother tongue is reduced when parents attempt to speak only prestige language with their children so that they could be fluent in it*.

This statement is true for some families with one Norwegian spouse – LT4 and RUS4. LT4's older boy had language delay and his mother started to speak only

Norwegian with him so that he would be fluent in it, even though the native language for this boy was Lithuanian and he started to speak Lithuanian first.

3. *Negative attitude towards a language effects in its everyday use – speakers of the language may refuse to speak it in public, child or adolescent can turn away from the native language and refuses to speak it with her or his parents. Bilingual speakers among themselves may choose a particular language so as not to stand out from the people around (this especially happens in communities that have negative attitudes toward a minority language).*

LT4's woman tries to speak Lithuanian with both her boys now, but it is too late. They refuse to speak in a "wrong" language. The children of RUS3 wanted to speak Norwegian at home as well, not only in public places. It was only because of their mother's strong negative position concerning Norwegian at home that this family kept Russian as the home language. The siblings of this family speak Norwegian among themselves at school or on the bus, because they feel uncomfortable speaking Russian among Norwegians. As was discussed earlier in this Chapter, some Russian adults also have this feeling.

4. *Use of less prestige or stigmatized language may reinforce the group's positive values and symbolize solidarity for them.*

The need of solidarity symbolizes Lithuanian and Russian communities for adults or native language schools for children, where participants can keep their values and traditions together with the others of the same origin.

Not so long ago Lithuanians used to hug and greet every person that they heard speak Lithuanian in the street. Only when Norway became one of the most popular countries for immigration among Lithuanians, and some criminals or others with inappropriate behavior in society started to come, did Lithuanian immigrants in Norway become less open and not react so positively to their native language speakers (Dauksas, 2010).

Families' attitudes on the native country and language reflect in their children. As was shown in Chapter 6, Russian children are more willing to keep the native language than Lithuanian children, and they have a more positive attitude to their country as well.

Children older than six years (five Lithuanian children and five Russian children) were asked where they would like to live when they will be 40 years old. None of the Lithuanian children answered that they would like to live in Lithuania. All the Lithuanian children except one answered that they would like to live in Norway. LT1's eight-year old girl wrote that she would like to live in America. The situation is different with Russian children. Three (that's more than a half) children wrote that they would like to live in Russia. These were the answers of the Russian children: RUS2's fifteen-year-old girl would like to live in Russia or England, and the eight-year old boy would like to live in Russia; RUS3's seventeen-year old girl would like to live in Latvia (this family came from Latvia), and the eight-year old boy in Russia or Norway; and RUS4's eight-year old boy would like to live in Norway.

What adults like in Norway is the beautiful nature, good economy and the safe life. In their native countries they don't like the bad economic situation and insecurity about the future, but they appreciate their culture, language and values. Both target groups take what they think is the best from the two cultures and reject what they think is bad. They combine and blend aspects of both Norwegian and the culture of origin, even though one culture remains dominant in some families.

7.3. Code-switching and borrowing in informants' discourse

Code-switching as one of the linguistics practices is an important issue in bilingualism and shows the language attitude of the speakers (see Chapter 2.3.). That's why I examined this phenomenon carefully. First in my questionnaire I asked if the informants switch languages in the same conversation with the same partner, and if so, why. Later during the conversation I asked the same question again. I also took observations during the interviews. My findings were following:

The participants mix two languages in their speech more than they think. In all families with both Lithuanians partners, it can be some Russian words or expressions used in conversation, but none of the Russians had code-switching or borrowings from the languages of the national states they came from.

In all families where both partners are Russians or Lithuanians, partners use their mother tongue when they speak with each other, though there can be some code-switching or borrowing. Partners can insert some Norwegian words or expressions when they speak about some specific Norwegian things/events or things/events that they use/happens in Norway often. Both the Lithuanian and Russian languages require inflection, so it is easier to be understood when a word taken from another language is integrated morphologically. Inflections play a crucial role in understanding these languages.

As an example I will present two of the most popular Norwegian words in adults' discourse– *t-bane* and *søknad*. The Russian says:

Ti dolzna *vziat' tiban*.
'You have to take *the subway*.'
Ja napisala *soknad*.
'I have written *an application'*.

The words have inflexions and are phonologicaly integrated into the Lithuanian language as well.

Tu turi *paimti tibaną*.
'You must take the *subway*'
Aš parašiau *soknadą*.
'I have written *an application'*.

The words *vziat'* in Russian and *paimti* in Lithuanian are semantic borrowings from Norwegian. *Å ta t-bane* 'to take the subway', is a Norwegian utterance. In Lithuanian/Russian languages *paimti/vziat'* (to take) means to take someone in hand or to allow someone to go together. Hence it should be *jiexat' na avtobusie* ('to drive on a bus' (literal translation)) in Russian or *važiuoti autobusu* ('to drive with a bus' (literal translation)) in Lithuanian.

Another example of borrowing is the word "kakutis" used by the LT2 women. This borrowing is from Norwegian word "kake" (cake) and has Lithuanian diminutive suffix –ut- and inflexion –is. The word is declined in the speech.

When I wanted to buy something sweet to go with the tea, LT2 woman said to me:

Nepirk tu *kakuchiu*.
'Don't buy these *cakes*'

"Kakuchiu" has a plural genitive case. The word has a double meaning understandable only to the people who can speak both Lithuanian and Norwegian languages. Norwegian word "kaka" means cake, but Lithuanian word "kaka" means "shit" when speaking with children. So in this sentence "kakuchiu" means not only "cakes", but also has a connotation "bad food with a lot of calories".

In one Lithuanian family (LT4) and two Russian families (RUS4 and RUS5) there was no answer or reaction from the children at all when their mothers tried to communicate in Lithuanian/Russian languages with them. All three families have a Russian/Lithuanian wife and a Norwegian husband. Mothers reported that the children can understand a little bit of Russian/Lithuanian. Such lack of response from the children's side could be due to the lack of knowledge in Russian/Lithuanian, and also an unwillingness to communicate in a "wrong" language.

The girl from RUS6, as was reported by her mother, answers Norwegian when her grandmother speaks with her in Russian.

Children from RUS2 and RUS3 reported that they speak Norwegian with each other when they are in public place, for example, on a bus, because they feel ashamed to speak Russian there. It is possible that if my interview were held in a public place, they would speak Norwegian with me. Not one of the Lithuanian children said that they speak Norwegian with their siblings in a bus or because they feel ashamed. They choose the language according their friends' language.

7.3.1. Code-switching and borrowings in adults' discourse

By code-switching the participants convey dual or hybrid identities when they shift the language in connection with different social environments and/or experience. They also can perfom different identities using particular language and accent.

In Chapter 2.2 I mentioned Li Wei's (1998) research in England, where the researcher found three different types of code-switching. All these types were also observed in my informants' discourse.

Switching within a speaking turn but within sentence boundaries, and switching between constituents in a sentence, were both found in the language of both informants' groups. Such switching was used to quote someone or to amplify/emphasize. These code-switches differed from borrowings in that they were not integrated in the main language of the interlocutor and that the flow of the speach was broken with a very short pause before code-switching, a foreign accent was produced by code-switching and often (though not always) with a repetition of the phrase or world.

Below some examples will be presented.

Discourse 5. RUS2 (see Appendix). Here we can see code-switching between constituents in a sentence (lines 6-8). In this talk the Russian woman from RUS2 conveys her Russian identity using ethnic language and by content of the discourse. She states that she is Russian because of her Russian culture (lines 4-5). The woman confirms this statement once more with code-switching. While the first statement that she is Russian was based on her experiences and feelings about Russian culture, the second statement is based on the opinion from the outside. She quotes Norwegians who call her a non-Western immigrant (*ikke vestlig innvandrer*, line 8). This expression was said with a short pause before the utterance and performed in a Norwegian accent. The woman performs a Norwegian identity here, but doesn't accept it. She creates distance with the accent and a laugh after this utterance. This labeling seems funny to her, but she accepts it.

Discourse 6. LT1 (see Appendix). ***Here*** in this discourse means Norway. The wife and husband from LT1 speak about life in Norway. ***Here*** in this discourse means Norway; it creates an opposition with Lithuania. On lines 6-8 interlocutor performs a Norwegian identity by code-switching within a speaking turn, but a sentence forms a boundary. The repetition of the phrase has the effect of emphasizing the importance of this fact. A short pause before the code-switching and the performed Norwegian accent also emphasizes it.

Another thing of interest is a choral evaluation (lines 5-9); the same chorality was observed in other discourses as well (Chapter 7). The action is attributed to characters not as individuals, but as members of a group.

As in the previous discourse the code-switching here is used to quote someone, but the difference is that the distance they create is not from them as interlocutors, but from those who are in Lithuania. Interlocutors are ***here*** in Norway, they make positive evaluations that there is no discrimination in Norway, everyone is accepted as equal and Norwegians are friendly. Interlocutors feel that the host society is interested in them and because of that they are accepted as members of this society.

Later in the same discourse LT1 use some code-switching to amplify or emphasize.

Discourse 7. LT1 family (see Appendix).

In this example wife and husband from LT1 complain about the Norwegian food. The nutrition issue was mentioned in the previous chapter (Chapter 7) in the analysis of a Russian family (RUS3). Both ethnic groups have difficulties adjusting to the different food in the host country and use one word code-switching between constituents in a sentence – *brødskivers* (sandwiches). The Lithuanian interlocutor even emphasizes it with a triple repetition. It seems that *brødskiver* is a symbol for Norwegian food to my target group of immigrants.

LT1 interlocutors create *they-code* and *we-code* opposition. *We* it is Lithuanians who eat delicious food and *they*, other ethnic groups, in this case Norwegians and Russians who eat not such good food. This opposition interlocutor amplifys with the code-switching.

For the Lithuanian families it is quite usual to switch to a Russian phrase with a purpose to amplify and emphasize something. The example below is taken from the discourse with LT1.

Discourse 8. LT1 (see Appendix). The interlocutor explains that he doesn't feel oppressed in the host society or separated from his land of origin. He narrates that it is

easy to maintain links with his homeland because of modern technologies (lines 3-4) and then he supports and amplifies this fact with a code-switching to Russian (line 5). This choice of language is unexpected, but well understood due to the historical memory of the nation (Chapter 5). That's why the switch causes a laugh. This marked language choice has a double purpose – to amplify and, due to allusion to the shared history, to show that the debate is closed, because this question is clear. This one-sentence switching wasn't an invitation to switch the language, so I, as a researcher, answered in the national language.

In this discourse three identities manifested themselves – a Lithuanian identity as it was chosen as the main language, a Norwegian one by switching between constituents in a sentence, and a Russian, or more precisely Soviet identity, by switching conversational turns and national identity used as the main language. The interlocutor just performs Norwegian identity by code-switching and denies it this time, but he indexes his dual (national and Soviet) identities by national and Russian languages.

Another reason for switching the languages is a change in the person addressed. This strategy was used in the families where one of the spouses was Norwegian. In LT5 the mother, son and I all spoke Lithuanian. When the Norwegian husband came into the room, the native language was switched to Norwegian. In RUS5 we spoke with the Russian woman in Russian, and when her daughter and Norwegian husband came, we switched to Norwegian. The LT5 family discourse is presented below and the RUS5 discourse is presented in previous chapter (Chapter 6).

Discourse 9. LT5 (see Appendix). In the beginning of the discourse I spoke with the woman and when she let me know that she had said everything she wanted (line 1) and her Norwegian husband came to speak with me, I switched from the Lithuanian language to Russian. Switches in this discourse are especially interesting in comparison with Russian family's (RUS5) discourse in a similar situation. The Russian language was switched to Norwegian when the Norwegian husband came and we began to speak with him. The difference is that in the RUS5 family, Russian was switched to Norwegian and then Norwegian language was used until the end of our talk together with the Norwegian spouse, but in the Lithuanian family language was changed only when utterance was

directly refered to the Norwegian husband. If it was appealed to the Lithuanian interlocutor, Lithuanian was chosen. Such a phenomenon is seen on lines 12-16. The husband speaks Norwegian, but the wifes decides to ask me if I want more waffles, and she asks it in Lithuanian language. I answer positive by *mhm*, her son serves waffles for me and I say thank you to him (line 14). I use Lithuanian because it was expected of me to answer in that language. The boy answers in Lithuanian too (line 15) and the husband continues his reflections in Norwegian (lines 16-17).

Such inequality in language switches in LT and RUS families can be explained by different language bond of the participants. In these examples Russian participant (the wife) has situation-language bond, while Lithuanian participants (the wife and the son) have person-language bond.

One more reason why participants switched the language during the interviews was a change in topic. Two Russian participants switched the language when they changed the topic of the discourse. The woman from RUS2 changed language from Russian to Norwegian when she started to speak about her studies in Oslo, and changed her language once more, this time to English, when began to speak about master thesis writing. She had her studies in Norwegian, but wrote her master in English.

The woman from RUS6 changed language from Russian to Norwegian talking about pedagogy. She works in a Norwegian school as a teacher and speaks only Norwegian at her work, and so it is much easier for her to speak on this subject in Norwegian. Such a phenomenon wasn't observed during the interviews with Lithuanian participants.

Code-switching to exclude someone from conversation wasn’t used during the interviews, but in general it is very usual for Lithuanian adults to change language from Lithuanian to Russian when they don’t want children to understand their talk.

The most frequent switching or borrowing happens between constituents in a sentence. The most popular words are *pølse*, *brødskiver*, *slapp av*. They were used by every adult participant. For example, the man from LT1 said:

Jie valgo vien tik *brødskiver*, *brødskiver*. Mes valgom kiekvieną dieną taip, kaip jie per Kalėdas. (They eat only *brødskiver*, *brødskiver*. We eat every day as they eat at Christmas.)

The woman from LT4 who has two children and just begin to work, used these words during the interview: *likestilling, søknad, barnas oppdrag*. It is not surprising, because she deals with these things in her life in Norway a lot.

And the woman from RUS6 changed her language to Norwegian when she answered the last question in the questionnaire: What do you like in Norway? Until then she answered in Russian, but then she started to describe things happening in Norway in Norwegian language.

The woman from RUS2 said the Norwegian words *videregående, identity,* speaking Russian.

She started to speak English, by telling me about her studies in Oslo Høyskole, but she could say also:

Ja imiela *full time job*.
(I had full time job)

The wife from RUS3 can speak Norwegian well and uses some Norwegian in her Russian language, because it is more comfortable. Usually it is between her and the children, but they also like to tease their *pappa* with these Norwegian words: *slapp av, ha det, fornøyd, flink*. It is interesting that they use the word *flink* with a negative meaning.

When they lived in Latvia, the family used some Latvian words or forms in their language, but after they moved to Norway, they stopped doing so.

The wife from RUS5 uses many Norwegian words when she speaks about pedagogy. She used these Norwegian words during the interview in Russian: *pedagogisk kompetanse, avbestile, unnskyld*.

As I said earlier, Lithuanians uses Russian borrowings in their Lithuanian speech. For example, the man from LT2 said:
Yra tokia *prikolna* bažnyčia. (It is such a *cool* church.)

Woman from LT3 family said speaking about some Norwegians:
Jie nepriims į *dūšią*. (They will not accept you with all the *soul*)

Woman from LT1 uses semantic Russian borrowings:

Gerai, *sekantis*. Kas tavo manymu nulemia asmens tapatybę? (Ok, *the next*. What do you think describes identity?)

It is interesting that the Norwegian man from LT5 uses some Lithuanian words in his language. He can't speak Lithuanian, but even so by living with his Lithuanian wife and her son from the first marriage, he has learnt and uses some Lithuanian words which are used for everyday life: *gerai* (good, ok), *valgyti* (eat), *šūdas* (shit), *kur tu esi* (where are you?), *gultis* (go to sleep).

The participants reported that they switch language when they don't know the right word or expression, or when the interlocutor doesn't know the language. When they are tired or stressed, they mix languages more often. What adult participants wrote about their mix of language in questionnaire is presented below.

LT1. Husband answered that he uses two languages only when he translates for his friends Norwegian into Lithuanian for his friends.

Wife answered that she mixes three languages – Lithuanian, English and Norwegian – when she runs out of the words in one language.

LT2. Husband answered that he uses two languages, English and Lithuanian, when he doesn't know a word. Indeed he uses a lot of Russian expressions while talking Lithuanian.

Wife answered that she mixes two languages – English and Norwegian – when she doesn't know a Norwegian word.

LT3. Husband answered that he doesn't mix the languages.

Wife answered that she mixes two languages – English and Norwegian. When she forgets a word in one language, she uses it in another.

LT4. Husband is Norwegian, he doesn't participate in the interview.

Wife says that she uses Norwegian and Lithuanian when she speaks with the children, because her children can speak Norwegian well, but she wants that they can also speak Lithuanian; she uses English in her Norwegian talk, because she can't speak Norwegian so well.

LT5. Husband is Norwegian.

Wife says that she mixes two languages when interlocutors speak Norwegian and Lithuanian. She does it in order to explain things.

RUS1. Husband and wife answered that they mixe two languages – Russian and Norwegian. The use such Norwegian words in their language: *t-bane, bus, vakmester, lunch.* For example, the say:

Ja poshiol na *lunch*.

'I went to lunch.' (literary translation)

'I am going to have lunch'.

Most often they use code switching when they can't find an appropriate word in Russian, because one or another thing doesn't exist or is not popular in Russian culture. For example, *julekalender*.

RUS 2. Husband answered that he does not mix two languages. Wife does.

RUS3. Husband answered that he does not mix two languages. He can't speak Norwegian at all and uses only English in his job. They speak Russian in the family.

RUS4. Husband is Norwegian, and he doesn't participate in the interview. Wife says that she mixes Norwegian, English and Russian when she speaks with people who are weak in these languages.

RUS5. Husband is Norwegian. He says that he mixes two languages when he speaks with co-workers with another mother-tongue than Norwegian. He tries to speak Norwegian, so they can learn, but when speaking must use English, so they can understand.

Wife says that she mixes languages when interlocutors do not speak Norwegian so well. Then she mixes Norwegian, Russian and English. She does so in order to explain things.

7.3.2. Code switching and borrowings in children's discourse

Maybe it was too short time a time to notice this phenomenon in their language, or maybe children tried to speak only in a "correct" language that was their parents' native language at that time, but children had no code-switchings or borrowings during the interviews.

However some children and/or their parents reported that sometimes they code-switch. Data from these reports is presented below.

LT1. 17 year old girl speaks Lithuanian (with parents and sisters) and Norwegian (with sisters) at home. She says that she mixes languages – Lithuanian and Norwegian – when her interlocutors do not speak Norwegian.

15 year old girl says that she speaks only Lithuanian at home and that she mixes two languages – Norwegian and English. She inserts English words when she doesn't know the Norwegian.

8 year old girl says that she speaks Lithuanian and Norwegian at home. She inserts some Lithuanian words while speaking Norwegian.

LT2. Two year old girl speaks Norwegian when she plays and Lithuanian when talks with her parents. Sometimes she uses double negatives, one Norwegian, another Lithuanian: *ikke nepilk.*

LT3. 13 year old boy speaks Lithuanian and Norwegian at home. He mixes languages when he doesn't know or understand the word. In his Lithuanian language can be found Norwegian words and in his Norwegian sometimes can be found Lithuanian. He says that sometimes it is difficult for him to speak Lithuanian. Being his 'mormålslærer' for three years, I co-worked with his Norwegian teacher and can say that he has problems with Norwegian language as well.

5 year old boy speaks only Lithuanian at home and Norwegian in kindergarten. He says that he prefers to speak Lithuanian rather than Norwegian. The development of his Lithuanian and Norwegian lags behind the monolingual children. He started to speak Norwegian when he was 4 years old and began in kindergarten. He is not yet so good in Norwegian, but still uses some Norwegian words in his Lithuanian speech. For example, in *bulkos su leverpostei, brøskive, etc. 'Bulkos'* is a borrowing from Russian language. The boy can't speak Russian, but he has such borrowings in his language from his parents. *'Leverpostei'* and the other code-switching to Norwegian he took from his parents too. For example, his mother doesn't know the word for *'leverpostei'* in Lithuanian and uses the Norwegian word.

LT4. Father is Norwegian and home language is Norwegian. Both boys (2 and 6 years) can speak only Norwegian, but they understand a little bit of Lithuanian. It is no code-switching in their language.

LT5. 18 year old boy speaks Lithuanian and Norwegian at home. Stepfather is Norwegian. They speak Norwegian with each other and sometimes insert some Lithuanian words, because stepfather has learnt some. When the boy doesn't know the word in Norwegian, he uses English.

RUS1. 5 year old boy speaks Russian with his parents and Norwegian in the kindergarten or when he is playing. To use Norwegian as a play language is very usual for all the children in both Lithuanian and Russian families, as children spend most of their time in Norwegian kindergarten or Norwegian school playing and communicating in Norwegian with their friends. This means that Norwegian becomes associated with the games.

The boy can have some one word or a whole sentence code-switching in his Russian language. It is the new words that he has learnt in the kindergarten, such as *romskip* or *Vær så snill*.

The girl just turned two, doesn't speak much. She understands Russian and Norwegian well. She first started to speak in Norwegian, but after the visit of her grandmother from Russia she started to speak Russian with her parents and brother as well. She was shy to speak during my visit, but her mother reported that she constantly mixes Russian and Norwegian languages. For example,

Eto *min* kofta.

'It is my sweater'

RUS2. Children speak Russian with each other and parents. When they go home on a bus, they speak Norwegian because they are ashamed to speak Russian. Sometimes they can insert some Norwegian words or expressions while talking Russian. For example, they can say to their mother *Du bestemer ikke over meg* in their Russian speech when they argue. It is some kind of marked switch to express anger and an effort to gain an authority over the mother.

15 year old girl says that she uses Russian or English words while speaking Norwegian, when she can't find Norwegian equivalent.

8 year old boy and 6 year old girl think that they don't mix languages in one conversation.

RUS3. Children (17 year old girl and 9 year old boy) use Russian and Norwegian while speaking with each other and just Russian when they speak with their parents. They both say that they use Russian words in their Norwegian speech when they are missing words, are tired or excited.

According their mother, they use some Norwegian in their Russian speech, because it is more comfortable. Usually it is among her and children, but they also like to tease their father with using these Norwegian words: *slapp av, ha det, fornøyd, flink*.

RUS4. 8 year old boy has a Norwegian father, they have Norwegian as family language and he can't speak Russian at all. There is no code-switching in his language.

RUS5. 4 year old girl has a Norwegian father, they have Norwegian as family language and she can't speak Russian. But when her grandmother lived with them for several weeks, she started to understand Russian a little bit. Her grandmother spoke in Russian with her and she answered in Norwegian. There is no code-switching in girl's language.

7.2.8. Chapter summary

In this chapter I have discussed language use and the language choice of the informants, factors that affect them and how the participants index and preform identities by that. Several factors taken together influence the language choice of bilinguals, and some factors may have more weight in that phenomenon than the others.

First I have showed that the location of the interaction is an important language-choice factor. The home language is a symbol of LT and RUS families' national identity, and in the most of the families the native language is the dominant one.

Code-switching and borrowing was the second thing discussed in this chapter. By code-switching the participants convey dual and hybrid identities when they shift the language in connection with different social environments and/or experience. They also can perfom different identities using particular languages and accents. There were found found three different tipes of code-switching in the informants' discourse – switching between conversational turns; switching within a speaking turn, but within sentence boundaries; switching between constituents in a sentence.

From the discourse examples it is possible to see that Russian participants have a tendency for situation-language bond, while Lithuanian participants tend towards a person-language bond. Some Russian participants have topic-language bond as well. This latter fact wasn't observed during the interviews with the Lithuanian participants.

Anyhow, it looks as though Russians more than Lithuanians care about not standing out from the people around them, and to become one of them with the assistance of language. By choosing to use more Norwegian language in public, the Russians aim to identify themselves with the Norwegian society and to mingle with them.

On the other hand Lithuanians choose the language they and their interlocuters are most comfortable with. The Lithuanians are not afraid to display their Lithuanian origin and ethnicity, using their own language freely everywhere. They try to integrate themselves and be one with a host society more through the cultural adoption than through language. The Russians are very attached to their language and transmit it to their children, but they prefer not to exhibit their native language as openly in public as the Lithuanians do.

One of the reasons for such different tendencies between Lithuanians and Russians language choice could be because the Russian language is more stigmatized and more recognizable than Lithuanian. It is also possible that since Lithuanians were used to balancing two languages in Soviet times in order to keep their national identity they are continuing this practice today. Of course, when talking about language choice and use, it is necessary to keep in mind the personal character of each Russian and Lithuanian interlocutor as language use and choice can vary from family to family, from person to person. This process is very complex and there are always several factors that are at play.

Everywhere the use of both languages is meaningful. It indexes dual identities and draws on the association of both of the languages and cultures. The participants learn to live with two cultures and identities (and in some Lithuanian cases three – Norwegian, Lithuanian and Soviet heritage). They take what they think is the best from the two cultures and reject what they think is bad. They combine and blend aspects of both Norwegian and the culture of origin, even though one culture remains dominant in some families.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and perspectives for future research

This thesis has investigated the relationship between sense of belonging, national identity and linguistic practices (choice of language and language use) and how they affect each other in two different languages and cultures. The research raised questions that are relevant for understanding the situation of Russian and Lithuanian immigrants, and their linguistic choices in modern Oslo.

At the start of the thesis I argued for the need to study the immigrants from Eastern European countries as, for example, Russians and Lithuanians. Even though the number of immigrant workers from Eastern Europe increased significantly, they are very little explored in Norway. While stereotypes about the immigrants exist, there is little knowledge about who the Eastern European immigrants are, what they think and how they perceive themselves.

To investigate this language-identity nexus, mixed methods research (triangulation) and a comparative design (cross cultural research) has been used. The research combined both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative data was obtained from self-completion questionnaire with open and closed questions, and qualitative data was picked up from semi-structured interviews and the collection and analysis of literature on the subject.

In the following section the findings presented in the thesis will be summarized. The chapter concludes with an analysis of perspectives for future research and open questions.

8.1. Summary of main findings

In my study the Russian participants generally reported to have better linguistic skills than the Lithuanian participants in both their mother tongue, Norwegian and English. As shown in my thesis, the background for this may be differences in language policies in the participants' lands of origin, national consciousness, different social situation and the language itself. The fact that not all Lithuanian adults reported fluent mother tongue skills

can be due to the strong purist language policy in their country of origin. In reality all of them are fluent in their national language.

The national language is highly valued by both nationalities. Through all the research it is possible to see a tight connection between the national language and the understanding of national identity. The adults in both of the target groups feel bound to their national community by ties of the national language, historical memory and the culture. The national language was reported to be among one of the most important factors for the identification of identity for both target group. Russians, however, seem to emphasize language the most, while Lithuanians put more emphasis on the culture a person prefers.

The results of this study show that there is some difference in Lithuanian and Russian informants' national language preservation efforts as well. For example, all the Russian respondents (except one family with one Norwegian spouse) send their children to Russian schools (there are three Russian schools in Oslo), in fact none of the Lithuanian respondents send their children to Lithuanian school (even though there is one in Oslo). Russians do not want 'morsmålopplæring' (mother tongue teaching) in Norwegian school – not because they do not want their children to know their national language, but because they think it is unnecessary as children already attend a Russian school. Another explanation may be that they are afraid that this teaching will not be good enough. Many Russian families constantly visit Russia with the special purpose to transmit the national language skill and invite Russian grandmothers to come and babysit the children for a period. Lithuanians, on the other hand, tend to think that national language skills should come automatically or that the state can help by giving their children mother tongue teaching in the Norwegian school.

As demonstrated in my thesis this difference can be due to different social situation in these two groups of immigrants. Russians are very highly educated and came here to work as a specialists, students or spouses. Lithuanians have quite high education as well, but they came to Norway as labor immigrants and usually are overqualified for their present job in Norway and have to work a lot. Many of them thought that they would go back to Lithuania in the beginning, they complain about the lack of the time because of their job as well.

The children as the boundaries and symbols of family's identity reflect their parents' attitudes and identities. Hence, only in families where parents make considerable efforts to transmit their mother tongue, children develop fluent skills in Russian/Lithuanian and have positive attitude to their parents' national language. Most of the Russian children with Russian parents are highly competent in Russian and believe that Russian is the most beautiful language, but the competence and the opinions regarding the most beautiful language is very varied among the Lithuanian children with Lithuanian parents.

The fact that many Lithuanians came to Norway only to earn money and thought to go back to their country afterwards, but after several years in Norway changed their mind and stayed, influences their decision to learn Norwegian. That is why the Norwegian language skills of Lithuanian adults are in general lower than the Russian adults.

All Lithuanian adults know Russian. They use Russian sometimes and code-switch between Lithuanian and Russian. This is not the case with the Russian respondents. Most of them only know Russian. In fact, only two of the Russian respondents (RUS3 and RUS4 woman) who come from other countries than Russia, have proficiency in the national language of their land of origin, and none of them code-switch between Russian and the language of their land of origin. However, they may code-switch between Russian and English or Norwegian. The Russian respondents report that they use Norwegian in most public spaces (except one man who uses English, because he works in an international company and has no need for Norwegian) and Russian in private spaces.

The home language is a symbol of national identity for both Lithuanians and Russians, and in most of the families the national language is dominant. However, in public the Lithuanians respondents in general use a broader spectrum of languages than the Russian respondents. The Lithuanians display their Lithuanian origin and identity by using their own language freely everywhere – also in the public sphere. Most of them report that they view culture as more important that language when it comes to integration. The Russians are very attached to their language and transmit it to their children, but they prefer not to exhibit their national language as openly in the public

sphere as the Lithuanians do. A possible interpretation of this may be that Russians have a tendency towards *situation-language bond*, while Lithuanians have a tendency towards *person-language bond* (Grosjean, 2010).

The main reason why most of the Russian participants choose to use Norwegian in public places is the wish to be accepted by the others and not to stand out from the people around. This points to a tension that Russians never felt before they moved to Norway, because in Soviet Union (where all adults' participants grew up) and right after the Soviet Union crash, Russian was one of the main languages of communication with a very special status in all Soviet countries. When they moved to Norway, they found themselves in completely different situation. In Norway Russian is not only a minority language, but also a stigmatized language because of negative portrayal of Russian immigrants in the Norwegian media. The impact of this, as it is shown in other studies on the subject, however, can vary depending from where in Norway the immigrants reside.

The self-identification of the informants is affected by both subjective and objective factors. Ethno-genealogical parameters (such as ethnic origin and place of birth) are crucial for all adults of the both target group, but the children reflect parent's attitudes, thus it can be their ethnic origin, place of birth and/or whether they grew up in Norway that matters. Anyway, most of the Russian informants reported that they identify with their Russian ethnicity, while many Lithuanians reported to identify either with their Lithuanian ethnicity, as Europeans or as world citizens.

How the Lithuanian and Russian adults understand stability and change of their identity depends on what parts of identity they emphasize. If one emphasizes numeric identity, she/he believes that identity is stable, if generic – person believes that it is changing. I didn't observe the significant differences among the target groups on that item.

The informants declare a dual identity by feeling a strong connection with their land of origin, national language and at the same time more or less accepting the Norwegian culture. Some of Lithuanians indicate triple identities – Lithuanian, Norwegian and Soviet. They express these shifting and negotiating identities through actual language, *we-code/they-code,* content and the context.

Here it must to be mentioned that the code-switching as one of the language practices, is one of the main means by which to convey multiple identities also. Of interest is that the Russian informants prefer to use self-oriented talk and Lithuanians – other-oriented talk. Humor that appeared in the discourse is meaningful too and shows the boundaries in informants' understanding of national identity.

Both target groups take what they think is the best from the two cultures and reject what they think is bad. They combine and blend aspects of both Norwegian culture and the culture of origin. The informants carry out this selection according to their common national values, traditions, norms of behavior and personal attitudes. Besides that, they are strongly influenced by the Norwegian context. This leads to identity changes of the individual and influences the linguistic practices as well. Such findings demonstrate the veracity and relevance of the constructionist approach which was taken as a basis of the thesis (Mendoza-Denton, 2002; Sebba and Wootton, 1998; Joseph, 2004; Grosjean, 2010; Baker, 2006).

8.2. Concluding remarks and perspectives for future research

The limitation of this study is that I was dealing with a relatively small number of Lithuanian and Russian immigrants (36 people from 10 families). Yet, the aim wasn't to seek overall rules, but rather to develop a deeper understanding of the linguistic reality in two little investigated national contexts – Lithuanians and Russians in Norway. Besides, the research began by setting up a historical and cultural frame around the object by using available studies about Lithuanians and Russians in Norway and official Norwegian statistics. That gave a broader understanding of these two groups of immigrants.

Some questions were answered through my investigation, but other questions have emerged during the investigation and are open for future research. For example, gender differences are one of very important topics. I noticed that some men are more open to the transformation of identity as women, but didn't discuss that, because it wasn't enough data about this in my study.

Another topic of interest in the future could be variability of linguistic practice, sense of belonging and feeling of national identity among different groups of Lithuanian and Russian immigrants. For example, students, research workers, families with one

Lithuanian/Russian spouse and second spouse with other than Lithuanian/Russian or Norwegian origin, immigrants with a good paid job and those that could be considered as trafficked or socialy dumped.

It would be interesting to have the same interviews with the same families after several years as well. Will their language use, choice and feeling of national identity change during the years spent in Norway? What language the small children of these families will choose as we-code as they grow up and what proficiency they will have in their parents' national language and in the language of the host state?

Recognizing below discussed limitations, this study still can be considered a valid contribution to an understanding of the situation and linguistic behavior of two different Eastern immigrants groups, such as Lithuanians and Russians in Oslo. Due to the comparative perspective of this thesis, it was gained a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of the linguistic reality in two different Norwegian contexts. The comparative design showed some factors that are cultural specific and conventional for Lithuanian or Russian informants. As there were almost no research done about Lithuanians and Russians linguistic practice and feeling of national identity in Oslo, the majority of the findings described in this study are original.

Also, I hope that the findings taken up in this study will inspire other investigations of the Eastern immigrants' life and their identities, since it can serve to defeat some of the stereotypes about immigrants.

The value of this study and need of similar studies on this little-known area is also shown by the great interest and positive feedback received in various conferences and workshops[12] where the different parts of this research were presented.

Notes

[1] Maybe now after the well known case of Maria Amilie (Aftenposten 2010 a, b), the image of Russian women will change a bit. The case of Maria Amelie (25) who came to Norway with her parents eight years ago and was deported a few months ago, has become a political burden for the Norwegian authorities. Paperless Maria Amelie lived illegaly in Norway and shares the fate of thousands of other immigrants who lived or live in Norway for more than five years.

[2] "Let me be negro in my declining years,
even then with neither dejection nor bother,
I would learn Russian only because
Lenin spoke in this language."
V. Mayakovsky (1927)

[3] The Soviet Union helped the poor African countries at this time when this poem was written and people from these countries were respected, so *negro* for V. Mayakovsky, who was a good known Soviet poet, meant nothing disregarding – just a person from a distant country.

[4] In days of doubt, in days of dreary musings on my country's fate, thou alone art my stay and **support, mighty, true, free Russian speech**! But for thee, how not fall into despair, seeing all that is done at home? But who can think that such a tongue is not the gift of a great people! (Turgevev Ivan S. "The Russian Tongue")

[5] It is not the bounty of its crops, nor the distinctiveness of its garments, nor the beauty of its countryside, nor the strength of its castles and cities that make a nation hale; rather it is the maintenance and use of its native language, which strengthens fellowship, peace and brotherly love. **For our language is our common bond of love,**

the mother of unity, the father of civic solidarity, the guardian of nationhood. If you destroy our language you destroy cooperation, unity and wellbeing. (Mikalojus Dauksa**.** From the Foreword of Postilla (1599), one of the earliest Lithuanian books. Tranlsation by Gintautas KAMINSKAS.In: Lithuanian Papers. Annual Journal of the Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania).

6 I am proud that I am a Lithuanian. And here I must also say that it is extremely difficult to be Lithuanian. It is tragically hard to be Lithuanian.

7 It is good to live, and to live good it is even better.

8 *Troll's candle*

A troll lit a candle
at the edge of old wood.
Come here, white winter's children,
brought by a white stork.

Near the green glacial ponds
in the sound of icicles
to see the spells of a troll
we will gather together.

A cone has already fallen
and spread in the hand…

For many Lithuanian and Russian immigrants troll is associated with Norway. I have heard Lithuanian immigrants calling Norway the land of trolls, or a Russian boy asking why everyone in Norway believes in trolls. Taking the troll as immigrants' imagined symbol of Norway, I found this J. Degutyte's poem very meaningful. Immigrants are coming to the unknown country and waiting for the exciting welfare. By moving to Norway the spell is thrown and inevitable changes of their life started.

Before some Chapters I will give some quotes from famous writer or films in Lithuania and/or Russia, as it will give better understanding of immigrant's mentality what is closely connected with their identity.

[9]*I – not I*
After a sleepless night
I got stuck around
with the sweet gluten.
Foreign words stick and stick.
Did I still hav'nt lost my language –
inherited mirror –
reflecting the true face?

[10] On the *World Lithuanian Symposium On Arts And Sciences* (04. 07. 2011) in Lithuania during my presentation about Lithuanians in Oslo and their linguistic practice (Lithuanians in Oslo: language and identity) I checked my hyphothesis with a professor in sociolinguistics of Vytautas Magnus University (Departament of Lithuanian language). She agreed that Lithuanians' underestimating of their mother tongue skills can be due to strict Lithuanian language policy.

[11] And it is not only about language skills here. Two boys of the Lithuanian family (LT3) were observed during one year. Cases studies revealed the impact of language skills on social and psychological development of the children. The children's psychological insecurity, reticence and fear of social isolation are linked with a lack of language skills and inferiority that is incurred in situations where it feels that you are not the same as the others (Maciulyte and Sucylaite 2011).

[12] This research was presented on World Lithuanian Symposium on Arts and Sciences (July 2011) in Lithuania; Workshop: Language – Nation – Identity (September 2011) at University of Oslo; scolarly conference "Conceptualizing an Identity as World Lithuanians: Contemporary Experiences of Migration" (October 2011) at Vytautas

Magnus University in Kaunas and on international scientific-practical conference "Creative Methods of Rehabilitation" (October 2011) at University of Klaipeda (Lithuania).

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APPENDIX

Tables

Table 1.Persons with immigrant background by immigration category and country background. 1 January 2010.

Country background	Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents		
	Total	Immigrants	Norwegian-born to immigrant parents
Lithuania	10 341	9 838	503
Russia	14 873	13 470	1 403
Total (from all countries)	552 313	459 346	92 967

Table 2. Immigration, by country. 1966-2009.

From country	Annual average (2001-2005)	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total (all countries)	37 395	35 957	36 482	40 148	45 776	61 774	66 961	65 186
Lithuania	415	265	523	783	1 339	2 356	2 854	3 163
Russia	1 454	1 835	1 724	1 398	1 083	1 442	1 153	962

Table 3. Immigrants, by lenght of stay /first immigrations year and country background. 1 January 2010.

Country background	**Total**	**Length of stay, in years /First immigration year**					
		25 +(1984-)	**0-24 (1985-1989)**	**5-19 (1990-1994**	**0-14 (1995-1999)**	**-9 (2000-2004)**	**0 -4 (2005-2009)**
Eastern Europe, total	122 670	**4668**	**3464**	**14019**	**11791**	**16473**	**72255**
Of which							
Lithuania	**9838**	**16**	**4**	**36**	**154**	**916**	**8712**
Russia	**13470**	**107**	**37**	**618**	**1795**	**5485**	**5428**

Table 4. Members of Lithuanian families.

Families nr.	**Husband (age/nationality)**	**Wife (age/nationality)**	**Child/children (age/nationality) (b-boy, g-girl)**	**Amount of children**	**Education (husband/wife)**
LT1	45/lithuanian	43/lithuanian	17 g/lith, 8 g/lith, 15 g/lith	3	College/Higher education
LT2	32/lith	29/lith	2 g/lith	1	Higher education/Higher education
LT3	35/lith	32/lith	5 b/lith,13 b/lith	2	didn't want to say/Secondary education
LT4	Didn't participate/norw	34/lith	2 b/norwegian and lith, 6 b/lith[1]	2	-/Higher education
LT5	45/norw	38/lith	18 b/lith[1]	1	Higher education/Higher education

1 child from a previous marriage in Lithuania

Table 5. Members of Russian families.

Families nr.	Husband (age/nationality)	Wife (age/nationality)	Child/children (age/nationality) (b-boy, g-girl)	Amount of children	Education (husband/wife)
RUS1	28 /russ	30/russ	2 g/ russ, 5 b/russ	1	College/Higher education
RUS2	38/russ	39/russ	15 g/russ, 8 b/russ, 6 g/russ		Higher education/Higher education
RUS3	46/russ	41/russ	17 g/russ, 9 b/russ	2	Higher education/Higher education
RUS4	didn't participate/norw	38/russ	8 b/norw	1	-/Higher education
RUS5	34/norw	35/russ	4 g/russian and norwegian		3 år yrkesfag/Higher education

Table 6. Norwegian studies and proficiency in Lithuanian families.

Participants (age of children)	Length to stay in years	The way of learning	General proficiency of Norwegian language*			
			speak	write	read	understand
LT1 man	4	Adult education courses	1	1	1	5
LT1 woman	2	Private Norwegian	1	-	1	1

		courses				
LT1 girl (17)	2	Secondary school	2	2	3	2
LT1 girl (15)	2	Secondary school	2	2	5	5
LT1 girl (8)	2	Secondary school	1	1	1	1
LT2 man	7	Adult education courses	1	1	1	1
LT2 woman	6	Adult education courses	3	2	5	3
LT 2 girl (2)	2	Kindergarten	3	-	-	5
LT3man	8	TV	3	3	4	5
LT3woman	7	Adult education courses	1	1	1	1
LT3boy (13)	7	Secondary school	4	2	2	5
LT3 boy (4)	4	Kindergarten	3	-	-	3
LT 4 woman	3	Adult education courses, family	2	2	3	2
LT4 boy (6)	3	Kindergarten, family	3	-	-	3
LT4 boy (2)	2	Kindergarten, family	1	-	-	3
LT5 woman	3	Adult education courses	3	3	4	4
LT5 boy (18)	3	Secondary school	3	3	3	4

*1-a little bit
2-quite good
3-good
4-very good
5-fluent

Table 7. Norwegian studies and proficiency in Russian families.

Participants (age of children)	**Length to stay in years**	**The way of learning**	**General proficiency of Norwegian language***			
			speak	**write**	**read**	**understand**
RUS1 man	5	By self	5	4	5	5
RUS1 woman	5	By self	3	4	4	4
RUS 1 girl (2)	2	kindergarten	1	-	-	3
RUS1 boy (4)	5	kindergarten	4	-	-	5
RUS2 man	16	Adult education courses	5	5	5	5
RUS2 woman	16	Adult education courses	5	5	5	5
RUS2 girl (15)	15	Kindergarten , Secondary school	5	5	5	5
RUS2 boy(8)	8	Kindergarten, Secondary school	4	4	5	5
RUS2 girl (6)		Kindergarten	4	-	4	3
RUS3man	8	-	-	-	-	-
RUS3woman	8	Adult education courses	5	5	5	5
RUS3 girl (17)	8	Secondary school	5	5	5	5
RUS3 boy (8)	8	Kindergarten, Secondary school	5	5	5	5
RUS4 woman	8	Adult education courses	5	5	5	5
RUS4 boy (8)	8	Kindergarten, family	5	5	5	5
RUS5 woman	15	Videregående skole	5	5	5	5

RUS5 girl (4)	4	Kindergarten, family	5	-		5

*1-a little bit
2-quite good
3-good
4-very good
5-fluent

Table 8. Language proficiency in Lithuanian families (other languages than Norwegian).

Participants (age of children)	**General proficiency of Lithuanian language* (speak, write, read, understand)**	**General proficiency of English language* (speak, write, read, understand)**	**General proficiency of the Russian language* (speak, write, read, understand)**	**General proficiency of the other languages* (speak, write, read, understand)**
LT1 man	**5, 4, 5, 5**	**1, 1, 1, 1**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**-**
LT1 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**-**	**5, 4, 5, 5**	**-**
LT1 girl (17)	**5, 4, 4, 4**	**3, 3, 3, 3**	**3, 1, 2, 3**	**-**
LT1 girl (15)	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**2, 2, 2, 2**	**1, -, -, 1**	**-**
LT1 (8)	**5, -, 3, 5**	**-**	**-**	**-**
LT2 man	**5, 4, 5, 5**	**4, 3, 3, 4**	**4, 3, 4, 5**	**-**
LT2 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**2, 1, 4, 3**	**4, 3, 5, 4**	**French: 1, 2, 5, 2**
LT2 girl (2)	**3,-,-,4**	**3, -,-, 4**	**-**	**-**
LT3 man	**4, 4, 4, 5**	**2, 1, 4, 4**	**4, 4, 4, 5**	**-**
LT3 woman	**3, 3, 4, 4**	**3, 2, 3, 3**	**3, 3, 4, 4**	**-**
LT3 boy (13)	**5, 2, 2, 4**	**4, 2, 2, 5**	**-**	**Spanish: 1, 1, 1, 1**
LT3 boy (4)	**3,-,-, 5**	**-**	**-**	**-**
LT4 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**4, 4, 4, 4**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**Polish:**

				1, -, -, 1
LT4 boy (6)	**-,-,-, 1**	**-**	**-**	**-**
LT4 boy (2)	**-, -,-, 1**	**-**	**-**	**-**
LT5 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**2, 2, 2, 2**	**4, 3, 4, 4**	**-**
LT5 boy (18)	**5, 2, 3, 4**	**3, 3, 4, 4**	**-**	**-**

*1-a little bit
2-quite good
3-good
4-very good
5-fluent

Table 9. Language proficiency in Russian families (other languages than Norwegian).

Participants (age of children)	**General proficiency of Russian language* (speak, write, read, understand)**	**General proficiency of English language* (speak, write, read, understand)**	**General proficiency of the national language in the land of origin* (speak, write, read, understand)**	**General proficiency of the other languages* (speak, write, read, understand)**
RUS1 man	**5, 4, 5, 5**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**From Russia**	**Swedish: -,-,-, 3**
RUS1woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**4, 4, 4, 4**	**From Russia**	**Swedish: 4, 4, 4, 4**
RUS1boy (4)	**5, -, -, 5**	**-**	**-**	**-**
RUS1 girl (2)	**1, -,-, 1**	**-**	**-**	**-**
RUS2 man	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**From Kazakhstan: -, -, -, -**	**-**
RUS2 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**From Russia**	**Spanish: 1, 1, 1, 1**

RUS2 girl (15)	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**-**	**Spanish: 1, 1, 1, 1**
RUS2 boy (8)	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**1,-,-, 1**	**-**	
RUS2 girl (6)	**5, 2, 5, 5**	**1, 1, 1, 2**	**-**	**-**
RUS3 man	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**5, 4, 5, 5**	**From Latvia: -, -, -,-**	**-**
RUS3 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**1, 2, 2, 2**	**From Latvia: 2, 2, 2, 2**	**-**
RUS3 girl (17)	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**Lived in Latvia 9 first years: -, -,-,-**	**-**
RUS 3boy (9)	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**Lived in Latvia first year: -, -,-,-**	**-**
RUS4 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**3, 2, 5, 5**	**From Belarus: 5, 5, 5, 5**	**-**
RUS4 boy (8)	**5, 3, 5, 5**	**-**	**-**	**-**
RUS5 woman	**5, 5, 5, 5**	**1, 2, 3, 4**	**From Rusia**	**-**
RUS5 girl (4)	**-,-,-,1**	**-**	**-**	**-**

*1-a little bit
2-quite good
3-good
4-very good
5-fluent

Table 10. Speakers' age, age at arrival, length to stay.

Participants	**Lithuanian adults (8)**	**Russian adults (8)**	**Lithuanian children (9)**	**Russian children (9)**
Age range	**29-47**	**28-46**	**2-18**	**2-17**
Age at arrival	**23-41**	**15-38**	**0-15**	**0-9**
Mean (median) age	**38**	**37**	**10**	**9,5**
Length of stay in years	**2-7**	**5-16**	**2-7**	**2-8**
Mean (median) length of stay in years	**4,5**	**10,5**	**4,5**	**5**

Table 11. Lithuanian families' language choice at home.

Language use in the home	Families, where both partners are Lithuanians (3 participant families)	Families, where one of the partners is Lithuanian (2 participant families)
Only Lithuanian language	2	
Mostly Lithuanian, some Norwegian	1	
Mostly Norwegian, some Lithuanian*		1
Norwegian as much as Lithuanian		1
Only Norwegian		

Table 12. Russian families' language choice at home.

Language use in the home	**Families, where both partners are Russians (3 participant families)**	**Families, where one of the partners is Russian (2 participant families)**
Only Russian language	2	
Mostly Russian, some Norwegian	1	
Mostly Norwegian, some Russian*		1

Norwegian as much as Russian		
Only Norwegian		1

*****by that I mean families with one Norwegian spouse where wife keeps trying to speak in her native language with her children/child even though the children/child refuse to answer in the same way.

Table 13. Lithuanian and Russian adult's language choice at their jobs in Norway (self-reported case).

Language	**Lithuanians**	**Russians**
Russian	2	2
Lithuanian	4	-
Norwegian	4	7
English	2	-

Table 14. Lithuanian and Russian children's language choice in Norwegian schools (self-reported case).

Language	**Lithuanians**	**Russians**
Russian	1	-
Lithuanian	1	-
English	3	-
Norwegian	6	7

Table 15. Understanding of national identity (Lithuanians and Russians adults).

Identity (1)	**Lithuanians**	**Russians**
lit./rus.	4	8
europeanian	3	1
norwegian	0	0
world citizen	3	1

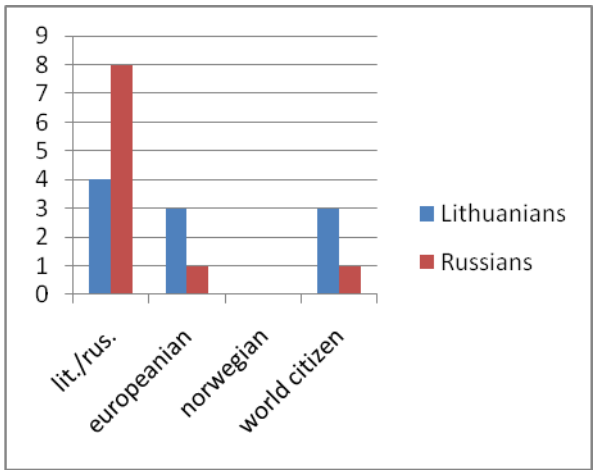


Table 16. Relationship between the nationality and identity. Adults.

What do you feel you are ?	Lithuanian	Russian	European	Norwegian	World citizen	It is hard to say	other
Lithuanians (8 participants)	4		3		3		
Russians (8 participants)		8	1		1		
Norwegians (2 participants)			2	1	1		

Table 17. Relationship between the nationality and identity. Children (only those who could understand the question – 6 years old and older)

What do you feel you are?	Lithuanian	Russian	European	Norwegian	World citizen	It is hard to say	other
From families with both Lithuanian parents (4 participants)	4		1	1			
From families with both		4		2	1		1

Russian parents (5 participants)							
From families with one Norwegian and one Lithuanian parent (2 participants)	1			1	1		
From families with one Norwegian and one Russian parent (1 participants)				1			

Table 18. Lithuanian participants' adults (self-reported case).

Speak Norwegian

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
with neighbours		2	2	3	1
friends		2	1	1	4
in the shop		5	1	0	0
with the office workers		2	0	1	1
doctors		1	3	2	0
your family members		0	0	2	4

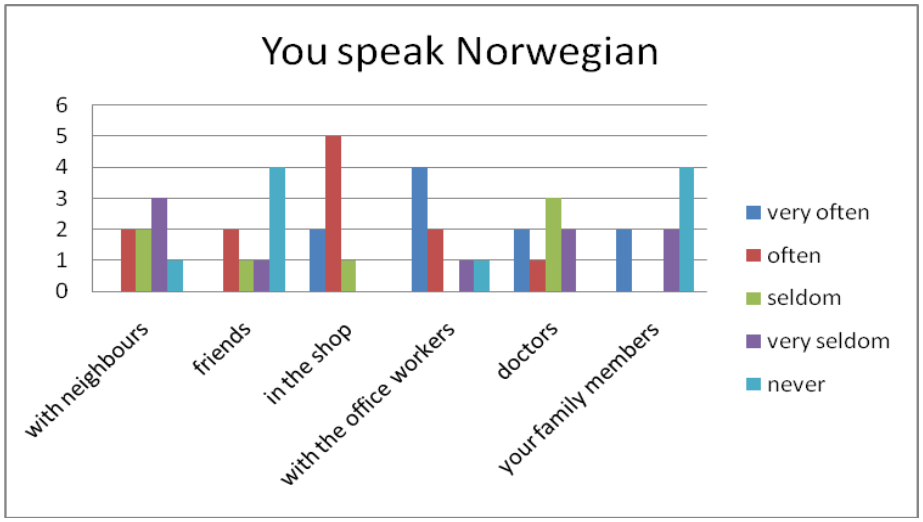


Table 19. Russian participants' adults (self-reported case).

You speak Norwegian

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
with neighbours	2	2	2	0	2
friends	1	5	0	1	1
in the shop	5	1	1	0	1
with the office workers	3	1	0	0	1
doctors	4	3	1	0	0
your family members	2	0	0	1	5

Table 20. Participants speak Norwegian with neighbours.

neighbours	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	0	2
often	2	2
seldom	2	2
very seldom	3	0
never	1	2

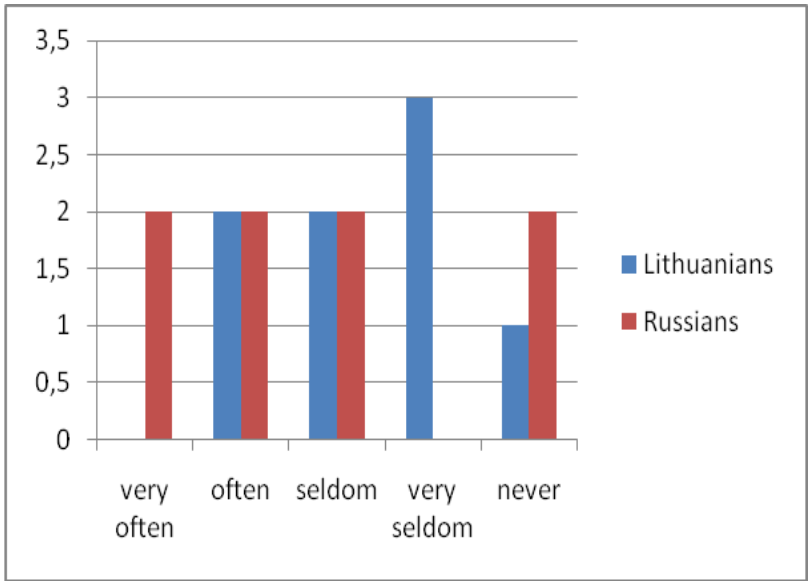


Table 21. Participants speak Norwegian with friends.

friends	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	0	1
often	2	5
seldom	1	0
very seldom	1	1
never	4	1

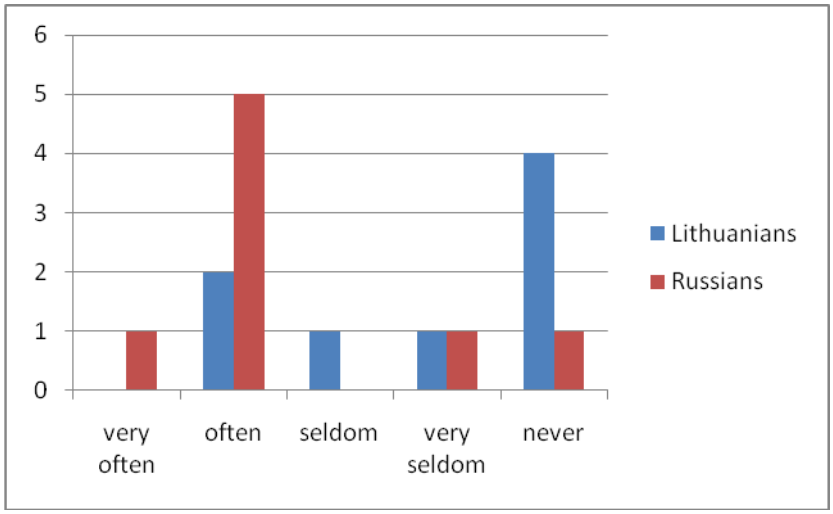


Table 22. Participants speak Norwegian with neighbours.

in the shop	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	2	5
often	5	1
seldom	1	1
very seldom	0	0
never	0	1

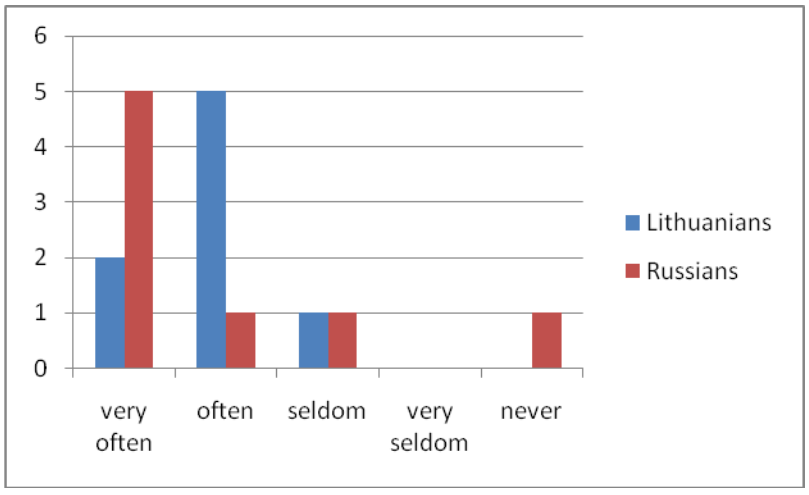


Table 23. Participants speak Norwegian with the office workers.

with the office workers	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	4	3
often	2	1
seldom	0	0
very seldom	1	0
never	1	1

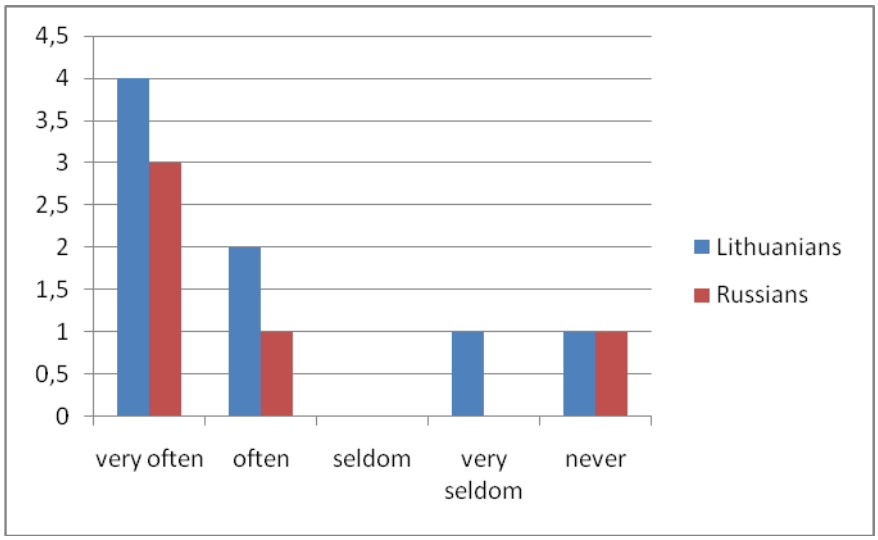


Table 24. Participants speak Norwegian with doctors.

doctors	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	2	4
often	1	3
seldom	3	1
very seldom	2	0
never	0	0

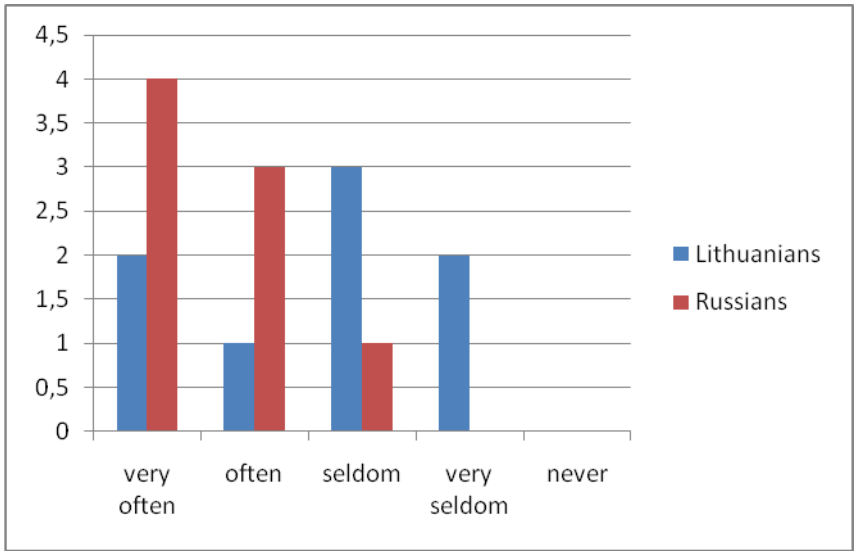


Table 25. Participants speak Norwegian with their family members.

family members	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	2	2
often	0	0
seldom	0	0
very seldom	2	1
never	4	5

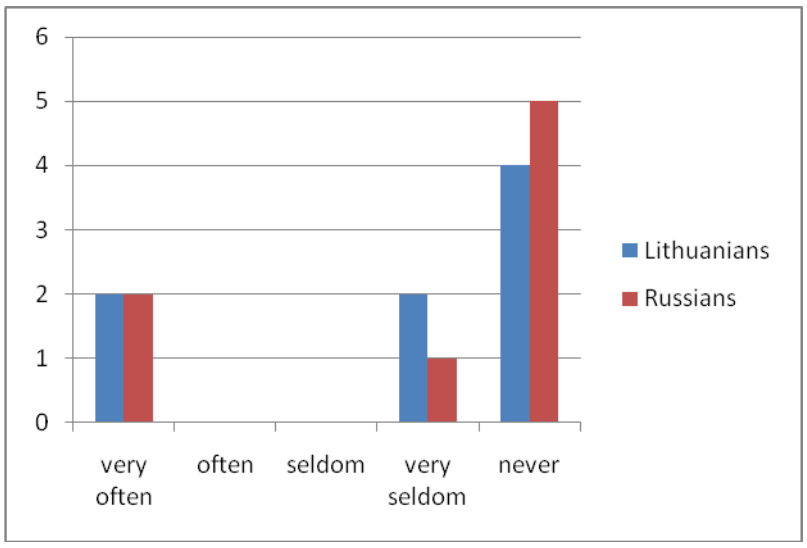


Table 26. Lithuanian adults' participants speak Lithuanian with

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
with neighbours	2	2	1	0	1
friends	3	4	0	1	0
in the shop	1	0	0	0	5
with the office workers	2	0	0	1	4
doctors	1	0	1	1	3
your family members	6	0	1	0	0

Table 27. Russian adults' participants speak Russian with

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
with neighbours	0	0	1	1	6
friends	4	4	0	0	0
in the shop	0	0	0	2	6
with the office workers	0	2	2	0	4
doctors	0	2	1	1	5
family members	6	1	1	1	0

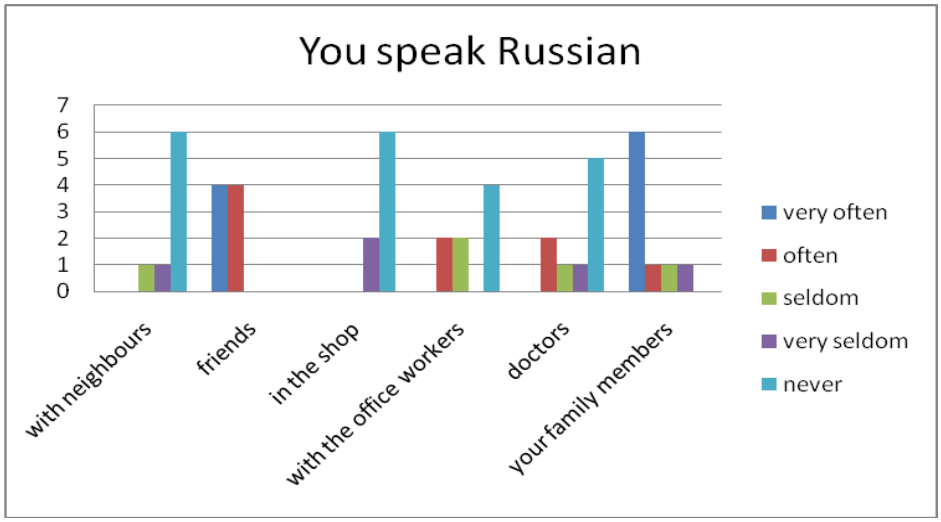


Table 28. Adults' participants speak their native language with neighbours

with neighbours	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	2	0
often	2	0
seldom	1	1
very seldom	0	1
never	1	6

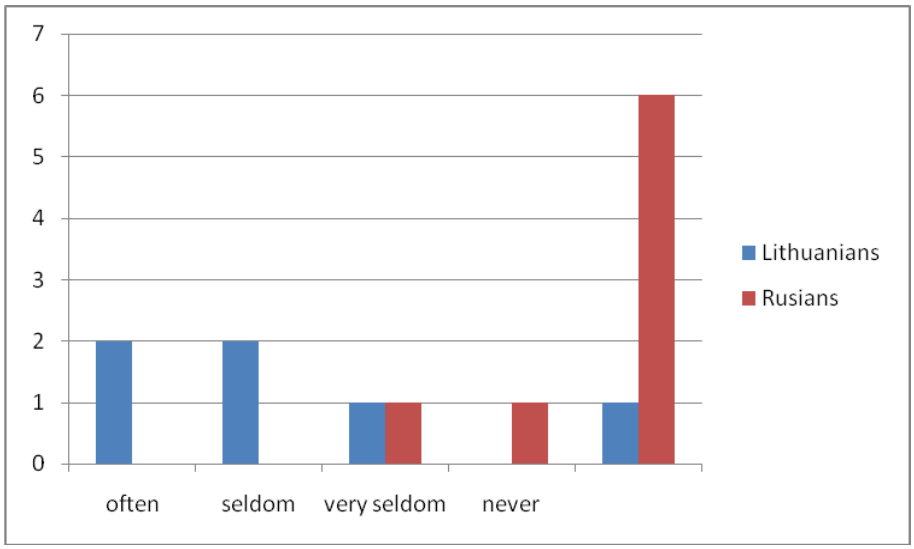


Table 29. Adults‘ participants speak their native language with friends

friends	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	3	4
often	4	4
seldom	0	0
very seldom	1	0
never	0	0

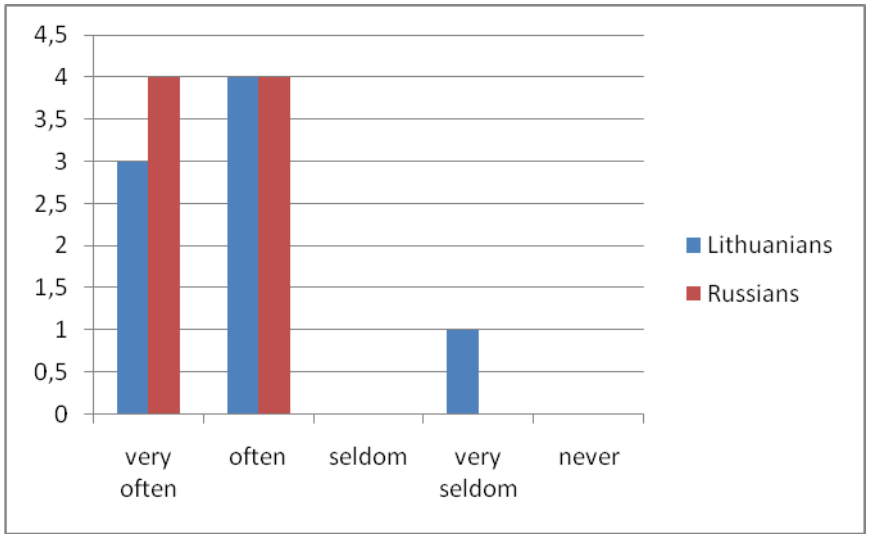


Table 30. Adults‘ participants speak their native language in the shop

in the shop	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	1	0
often	0	0
seldom	0	0
very seldom	0	2
never	5	6

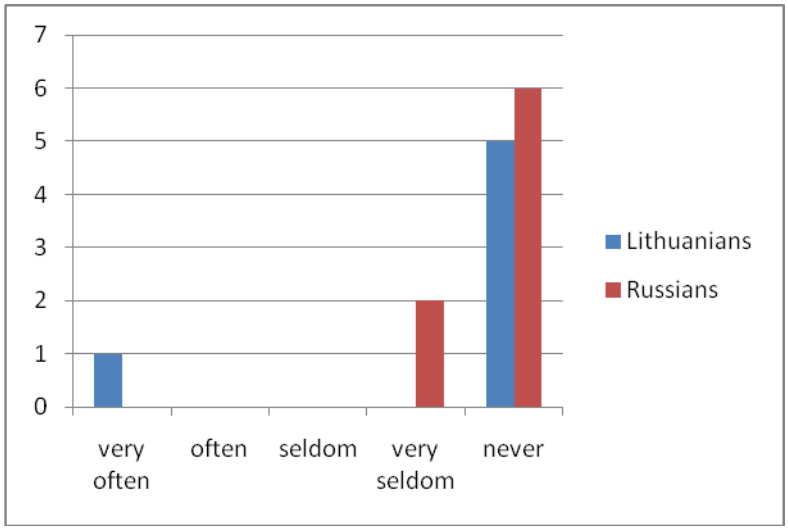


Table 31. Adults' participants speak their native language with the office workers

with the office workers	Lithuanians	Russian
very often	2	0
often	0	2
seldom	0	2
very seldom	1	0
never	4	4

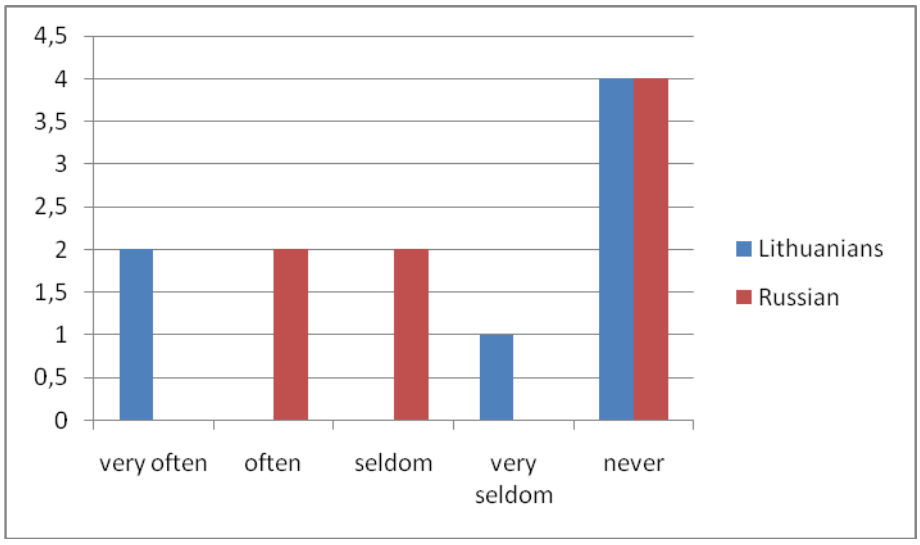


Table 32. Adults‘ participants speak their native language with doctors

doctors	Lithuanians	Russians
very often	1	0
often	0	2
seldom	1	1
very seldom	1	0
never	3	5

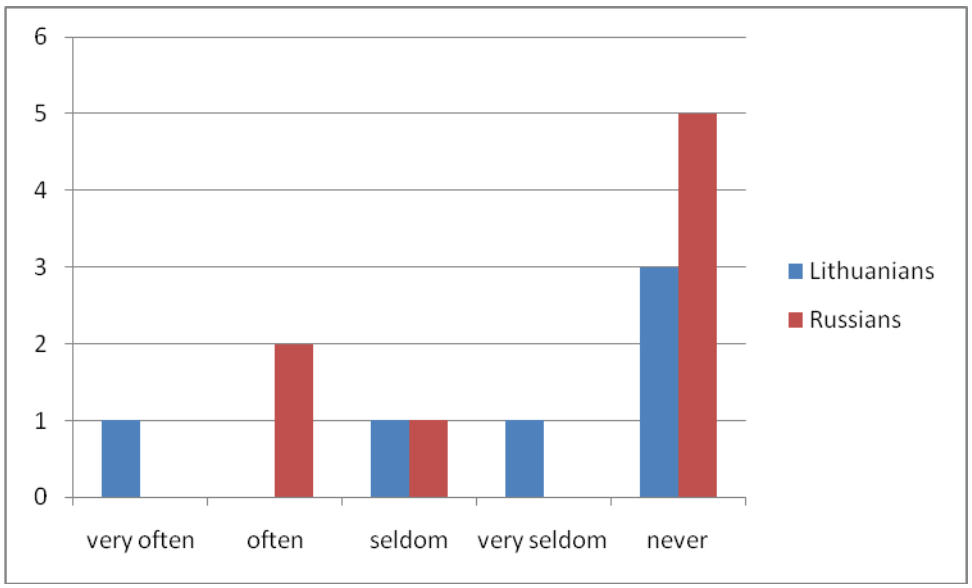


Table 33. Lithuanians read books in:

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
Lithuanian	3	1	2	2	0
Norwegian	**0**	**1**	3	1	3
English	0	0	2	3	3

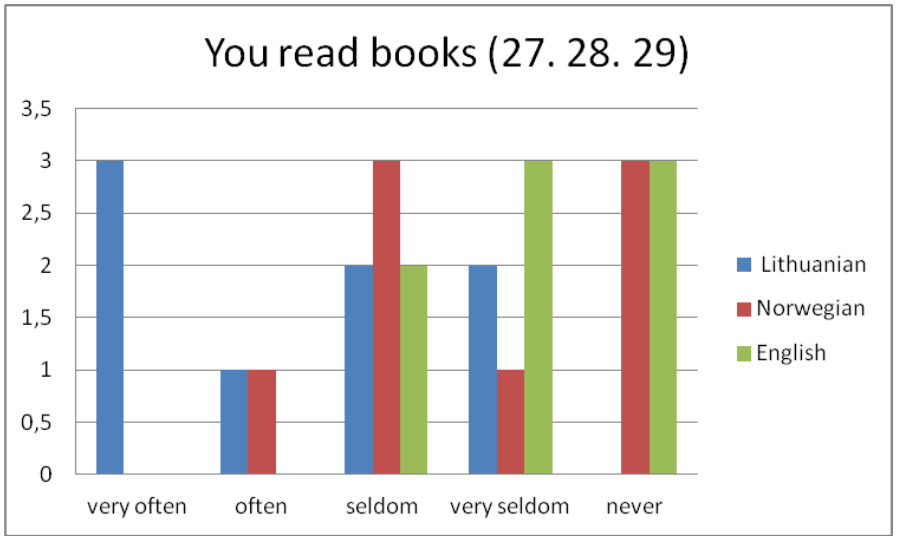


Table 34. Russians read books in:

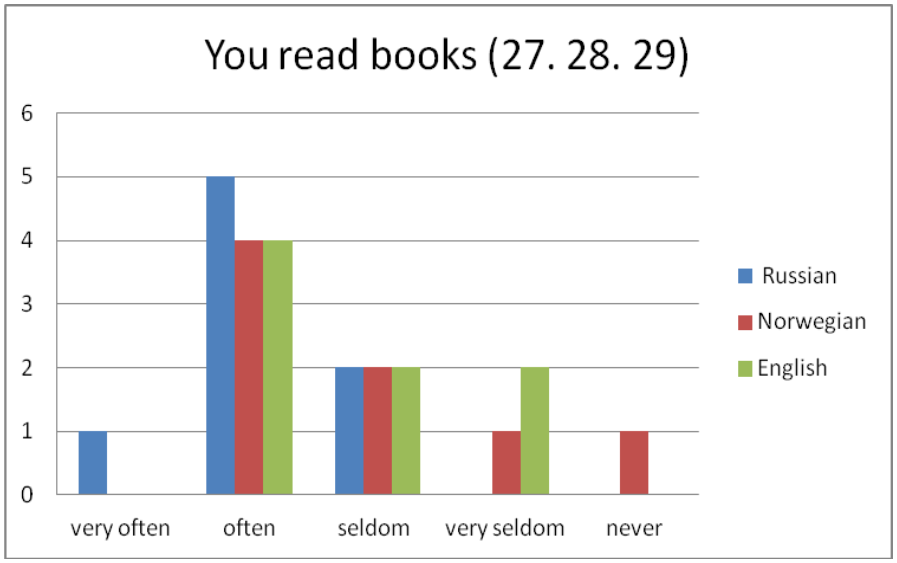


Table 35. Lithuanian children read books in:

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
Lithuanian	1	1	0	2	4
Norwegian	0	2	2	1	3
English	0	1	0	0	7

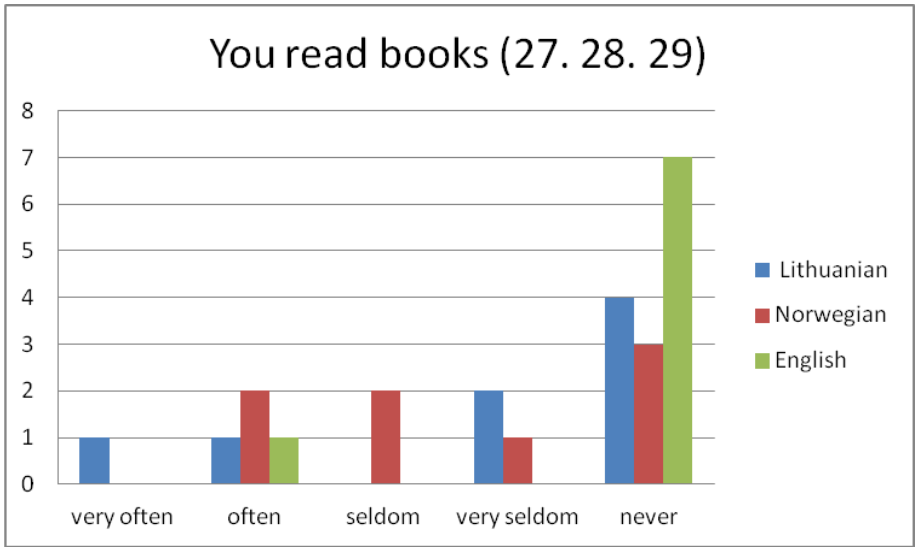


Table 36. Russian children read books in:

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
Russian	3	2	1	0	1
Norwegian	1	3	2	0	1
English	0	0	0	1	5

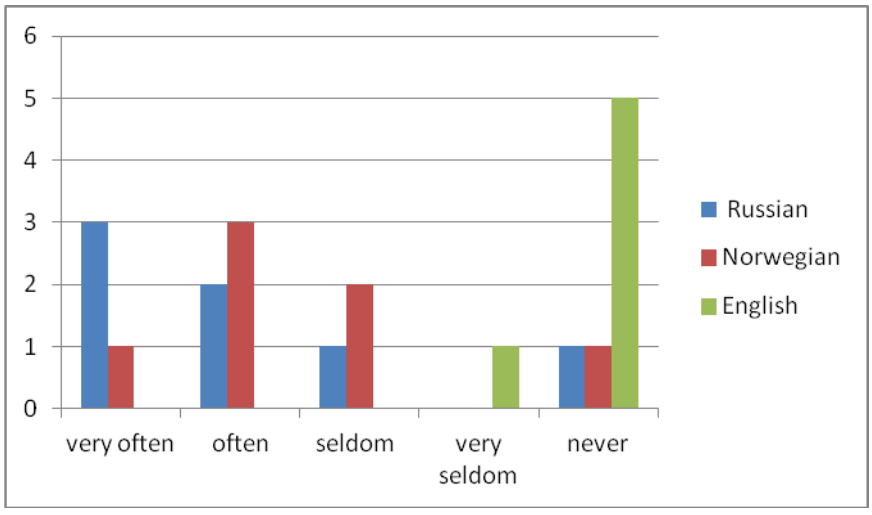
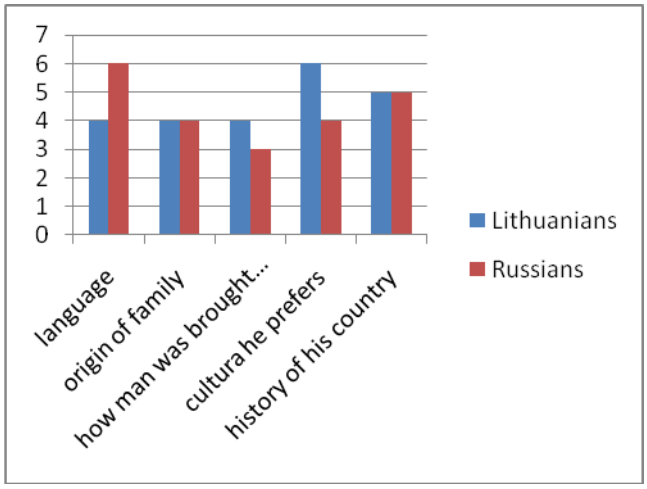


Table 37. What, according adults' participants, describes national identity.

Identity (2)	Lithuanians	Russians
language	4	6
origin of family	4	4
how man was brought up	4	3
cultura he prefers	6	4
history of his country	5	5



DISCOURSE SETS

Transcription conventions

W – wife, R – researcher, H – husband, S – son. Norwegian language has bold italic and Russian language in Lithuanian family speech has italic underline font. [ ] mean start/end of overlap and { } mean transcriber's insertion; < > non linguistic action; . falling intonation followed by noticeable pause (as at the end of declarative sentence); , continuing intonation; ? rising intonation followed by noticeable pause (as at the end of interrogative sentence); # noticeable pause shorter than 1 second; ( ) noticeable 1 second or longer pause; – self repair .

Discourse 1. LT5 family

1 W. Tu niekad nesijausi norvegas, nors tu ir priimsi Norvegijoje pilietybe kada nors gyvenime.

('You will never feel Norwegian, even though you will receive citizenship in Norway some day.')

2 Bet tu vis tiek nebusi norvegas, kuris cia gimes, kuris cia auges, kurio saknys cia yra.

('But you still will not be that Norwegian, who was born here, who grew up here, whose roots are here.')

3 Nesvarbu, kad tu kalbesi norvegiskai idealiai, bet tu nebusi.

('It does not matter that you speak Norwegian perfect, but you will not be.')

4 Ta tapatybe turi ateiti su motinos pienu, as taip manau.

('This identity has to come with the mother's milk, I think so.')

(1,5 second pause)

5 Jei gyvensi, kad ir dvidesimt metu, tavy ta nuomone nepasikeis, bet jeigu tarkim kartos eina, antra, trecia karta, jau vel kitas klausimas.

('Even if you will live and twenty years, in you that opinion will not change, but if, let's say, generations will pass, the second or the third generation, it is another question again.')

6 R. Mhm. Ar svarbu gimtaja kalba moketi?

(Mm. Is it important to know the mother tongue?')

7 S. Nu, siaip yra svarbu.

('Well, it is important after all.')

8 Jeigu turi seima pavyzdziui Lietuvoje, baba ar seneli, taigi negalesi sneketi kokia anglu kalba, nemoka.

('If you have your family for example in Lithuania, grandmother or grandfather, really you will not be able to speak English {with them}, {they} do not know {it}.')

9 R. Del giminiu svarbu.
(‘It is important because of the relatives.’)
10 S. Nu, del giminiu svarbu.
(‘Well, it is important because of the relatives’)
11 ir taip yra siaip gerai ismokti savo –
(‘and any way it is good to learn your own’)
(1-second pause)
12 kaip tautybe savo
(‘how your own nationality’)
(3-seconds pause)
13 R. Mhm. Na, o Ruta ka?
(‘Mm. Well, what about Ruta?’)
14 W. Aisku.
(’Of course’)
<laughs>
15 R. O kodel?
(‘Why?’)
16 W. Na, kaip kodel?
(‘Well, how is it why?’)
17 Jeigu tu tapatiniesi su ta tauta ir galvoji apie tai, kad tarkim nesvarbu, kaip ten bebutu
(‘If you identify yourself with the nation and think about it, let's say that, it doesn’t matter however there would be’)
(1,2-second pause)
18 mes sakom: o va cia ten tokia ar anokia, gerai, bet tai valdzia, bet patys zmones
(‘we say: it is such and such {government}, ok, but it is government, but people themselves’)
(1,4-second pause)
19 pati tauta, tai aisku, nu tai kaipgi dabar nekalbesi savo kalba?
(the nation itself, that’s clear, well so how you will not speak in your own language?)

Discourse 2. RUS3 family

1 W. Mienia uzie pozno miniat’.
(‘It is too late to change me.’)
2 No nikogda ja uzhie nibudu norviezka.
(’I will never be Norwegian.’)
3 No nismagu ja
(‘I just will not be able to’)
(1,2-second pause)

4 v mojom vozrastie mnie kazhietsia nie riejalno shtobi ja otkazalas' ot svojei kulturi i skazala shto norviezskaja kultura dlia mienia blizhie

('in my age I think it is unrealistic to reject my own culture and to say that Norwegian culture is more acceptable for me')

5 ja budu jiest' tol'ko *brødshiver* na zavtrak, obied i uzhan

('that I will eat only *brødskiver* on the breakfast, dinner and supper')

(2-seconds pause)

6 i tomat sup, da tozhie opridielionij sloi kulturi, no on niprijiemlim dlia mienia, ja niotkazhus' ot svojevo.

('and tomato soup, this is also particular cultural set, but it is unacceptable for me, I will not reject mine.)

7 A u dietei uzhie jiest vibor.

('But children already have a choice.')

8 Oni vidiat to, oni vidiat eto.

('They see this, they see that.')

9 I oni vibirajut.

('And they choose.')

10 Ja ni v kojem sluchajie ni rugaju odno i nie privieligiju druguju.

('I in no way reprehend one and not raise another.')

11 Niet.

('No.)

12 Mi viezdie naxodim polozhitielnoje i otriecatielnoje.

(We find positive and negative everywhere.)

(1.8 second pausa)

13 A jazyk ochien mnogoje govorit o lichnosti.

('And the language says about personality a lot.')

14 **R. Tol'ko rodnoj jazyk ili**?

('Just mother tongue or?')

15 W. Niet, niet.

('No, no.')

16 No znanije jazika ono rasshirajiet lichnost', no miental'nost' to raznoje.

('The knowledge of language enriches personality, but mentality is different.')

17 Jazyk opriedieliajiet miental'nost.

('Language defines the mentality.')

18 Soglasna?

(' Do you agree?')

19 R. Da.

('Yes.')

20 W. Potomu shto kitaiskij jazik u nich I mientalnost' drugaja.

('Because of Chinese language they have different mentality.')

21 Kitaiskij jazik postrojien soviershieno po drugomu chiem jievropeiskij.

('Chinese language is built in a completely different way than European.)

22 I russkij jazik postrijien soviershieno po drugomu chiem angliskij, norviezhskij jaziki.

(‘And Russian language is built in the completely different way than English, Norwegian languages.’)

23 Gramatika i vsio astalnoje.

(‘The grammar and everything else.’)

24 A eto tozhie mientalnost’ opriedielionoje.

(‘And it is also a certain mentality.’)

Discourse 3. LT3 family

1 R. Kas tu jautiesi esanti?

(‘What do you feel you are?’)

2 W. Lietuve.

(’Lithuanian.’)

3 R. Nesijauti Norvege?

(’Don’t you feel Norwegian’?)

4 W. Ne, nemanau, kad kada aplamai jausiuos norvege.

(’No, I don’t think I will ever feel myself Norwegian.’)

5 Vis tiek saknys lietuviskos.

(’The roots are Lithuanian anyway.’)

6 Aisku, stengiesi, deriniesi prie tu Norvegu

(’Of course, you try to adapt to these Norwegians’)

7 bet vis tiek kultura, visos sventes isliks lietuviski.

(but anyway the culture, all holidays will stay Lithuanian.’)

8 R. Mhm.

(’Mm.’)

9 W. Gal kazkada, kai jau gyvensi 10-20 metu Norvegijoje, gal tada ir isijausi i ta kultura.

(’Maybe once, when you will be living for 10-20 years in Norway, maybe then you empathize with the culture’.)

(1,2 seconds pause)

10 Jeigu bendrautum vien su Norvegais, tai ir isijaustum.

(‘If you would communicate only with Norwegian, then you empathize.’)

11 Kadangi cia musu visas tas draugu ratas lietuviai vien, tai ir jauciames lietuviais.

(‘All our friends are only Lithuanians, so we feel ourselves Lithuanians.’)

12 R. Ar manai, kad siaip nu norvegai nepriima i savo tarpa, ar tiesiog net nesinori [jums draugauti]?

(’Do you think, that it is Norwegians who do not accept you or you don’t want {to be friends}?’)

13 W. Nu, jie tokie yra, jie yra

(’Well, they are so, they are’)

(1,2 second pause)

14 salti zmones is tikruju

(‘cold people indeed’)

(1 second pause)

15 Ne, mes draugiskiau vis tiek kazkaip, kazkaip jie nepriima i savo *dusia.*
('No, we are more friendly somehow, somehow they don't accept [us] in their soul.')
16 R. Gerai. Tada kas nulemia asmens tapatybe?
('Ok. Then what does describe identity?')
17 W. Na, tai is tikruju, tapatybe tai is kur kiles
('Well, it is indeed, identity it is origin of the family')
(1,3 second pause)
18 Vis tiek gi nuo tavo seimos, tevu gi ateina, kokia tavo kalba buvo
('Still it is from your family, parents comes what your language was')
(1 second pause)
19 buvo ismokinta. Kokie paprociai visokie buvo ismokinta, ta ir perduodi.
('was taught. What customs you have been taught, these you and pass on.')
<Man came into the room>
20 R. O, eiks, prisijungsi.
('Oh, come in, join us.')
21 Mes va diskutuojam dabar.
('We are discussing now.')
22 W. Kas, tavo manymu, nulemia asmens tapatybe?
('What, according you, describes identity of the person?')
23 M. Ta, prasme, vaikui?
('You mean, of a child?')
24 R. Ne, tavo paties irgi.
('No, yours too.')
25 Na, pirmiausia, kas tu jautiesi esas?
('Well, first of all, what do you feel you are?')
26 M. Eee. As tai siaip neskirstau, ar cia lietuvis
('Eee. I do not classify usually, if here {I am} Lithuanian')
(1,5 seconds pause)
27 As tai zmogum jauciuosi.
('I feel the human being.')
28 Man tai ten vienodai, ar tai lietuvis, ar europietis, ar afrikietis.
('It is the same for me {I can be} Lithuanian, or European, or African'.)
(2 seconds pause)
29 Ne, gal afrikietis, ne.
('No, maybe not African.')
<everybody laugh>
30 W. Europietis.
('European.')
31 M. Europietis.
('European.')
32 R. Va, tai mes ta ir diskutavom, o po to perejom prie kito klausimo, kas nulemia asmens tapatybe.
('So we discussed that, and then moved on to the next question, what determines a person's identity.')

33 M. Manyciau priklauso nuo to su kuo bendrauji, su kuo buni daugiau.
('I would think it depends on with whom {you} communicate, with whom you're over.')
34 Posakis labai tinka:"Su kuo sutapsi, tuo ir pats patapsi".
('This phrase is very appropriate: "You will become the same person you keep company with").
35 Cia, cia labai tas tinka.
('Here, here it fit very much.')
36 R. Na, gerai, tu susidedi dabar su norvegais.
('Well, ok, you keep company with Norwegians now.')
37 Patampi norvegu?
('Do you become Norwegian?')
38 M. Nu, visisku, ne.
('Well, not absolutely.')
39 Bet sunorvegetum stipriai.
(' But [you] would be "norwegianised" a lot.')
40 R. Mhm.
('Mm.')
41 M. Sunorvegetum stipriai. Tai aplinka
('would be "norwegianised". It is environment')
(1,2 second pause)
42 butu labiau.
('would be more.')
43 Tas veikia, veikia is tikruju.
('This works, works indeed.')
44 W. Veikia, veikia.
('Works, works.')
45 Tu ir Natalijos pavyzdi paimk.
('Take the example of Natalija.')
46 Bendradarbe musu.
('Our colleague.')
47 Moteriai 44, bus 45.
('Woman {is} 44 will turn 45.')
(2 seconds pause)
48 R. Mhm.
('Mm')
49 W. Vaiksto, kaip nezinau kas.
('Dresses how {I} don't know who.')
50 Dzinsiukai, *bliuzkutes* trumpos.
('Tiny jeans, short blouses.')
51 M. O anksciau buvo eiline moteriske metuose, kukli ir panasiai.
('And earlier {she} was an ordinary woman in her years, modest and so on.')
52 W. Sijonais ilgais, skarelemis.
('With long skirts, headscarfs.')
53 R. Tai palaukit kas cia?

(‘Wait a little, that is what?’)

54 Cia sunorvegejimas?

(‘[Is] that “norwegianisation” ?

55 W. Cia, kaip sakoma su kuo bendrauji, tuo ir pats tapsi.

(‘This is how we say that you will become like the persons you communicate with.’)

Discourse 4. RUS5 family

1 W. Niet, ja ni norviezskaja.

(‘No, I am not Norwegian.)

2 No ja i nipitajus bit’ norviezskaja.

(‘But I am not trying to be Norwegian.’)

3 R. Chotia i upotriebliajiesh norviezhskij?

(‘Even though you use Norwegian [language]?

4 W. Da, chotia i upotriebliaju norviezhskij.

5 (‘Yes, even though [I] use Norwegian [language].’)

6 Obrazovanije, mozhno skazat’ tozhie norviezhskojie.

(‘The education, you can say, is Norwegian as well’)

7 I ja uchitiel norviezhskovo jazika.

(‘And I am the Norwegian language teacher.’)

<W and R laugh>

8 W. Pochiemu ja tak schitaju?

(‘Why do I think so?’)

9 Navierno potomu, shto ja radilas’ v Rasije.

(‘Perhaps because I was born in Russia.’)

10 Tam u mienia raditieli, i moja siemja iz v Rosijie, Ruskije

(‘There I have my parents, and my family is in Russia, Russians’)

11 chto ja v shkolu xodila v ruskuju, poluchila kak bi sriedniejie obrazovanije v Rosije.

(‘because I attended the Russian school, got secondary education in Russia.’)

12 Navierno dlia tovo shto mojo dietstvo i podroskovoje vriemia

(‘Perhaps because my childhood and youth’)

(2,3 seconds pause)

13 kak bi vriemia, kogda ja bila podrostkom, bila v Rosije

(‘time when I was teenager was in Russia’)

14 poetomu mnie kazhietsia u mienia kak bi slazhilos’ lichnost’ moja do tovo kak ja prijiechala siuda.

(‘that’s why it seems for me that my personality was formed before I have come here’)

15 R. I tiepier ono nimieniajietsia?

(’And it is not changing now?’)

16 W. Eta lichnost’?

(‘This personality?’)

17 Vopshie to kak eto objasnit'?
(' How can I explain that?')
(1,8 second pause)
18 Jiesli dumat' zto lichnost' kak stierzhien, ona kak bi kak ja.
('If we would think that personality is like a core, it is like me.')
19 Ja eta ja.
('I am me.')
20 Russkaja, da, russkaja ja.
(' Russian, yes, I {am} Russian.')
(1,5 second pause)
21 I xotia ja seichas zhiivu v Norviegije i govoriu na Norviezhskom jazikie
('And even though I live in Norway now and speak in the Norwegian language')
22 poznala ochien mnogo o Norviegije
('have learned about Norway a lot')
23 o kulturie Norviezhskoi mnogo znaju
('about the Norwegian culture I know a lot')
(1,5 second pause)
24 vsio ravno eto kak bi znanije.
('Still this is only knowledge')
25 To jiest' eto nimnozhko na drugom urovnie poluchajietsia.
('That is to say a little on the other level.')
26 To jiest znat' o kakich to vieschach o Norviegijie.
('That is to know about something about Norway')
27 No, ja kak bi ni chast' etovo.
('Well, I am not a part of it.')
28 Ja prosto kak bi
('I am just as')
(1,3 second pause)
29 ja kak bi ni odno, kak bi s norviezhskoj kulturoj.
('I am as not one with the Norwegian culture.')
R. Mhm.
('Mhm.')
30 W.Chotia ja prinieta, potomu shto ja govoriu na norviezhskom.
('Even though I am accepted because I speak in Norwegian language.')
31 U mienia bolshoi intieries k norviezhskoj kulturie.
('I have a big interest to the Norwegian culture.')
32 I vovpshchie ko vsiem norviezhskomu bol'shoi intieries.
('And general to all that is Norwegian, I have a big interest.')
33 I mnie kazhietsia moi druzja norviezhskije eto otcienivajut.
('And I think that my friends appreciate it.')
34 Ja kak bi schitaju siebia shto ja priniata.
('I think that I am accepted.')
35 Ja nischietaju shtoja odinoka, no v to zie vriemia ja kak bi jiedinica.
('I don't feel myself lonely, but at the same time I am as unit.')

36 Kak bi Olga eto Olga.
(‘As Olga is Olga.’)
37 Trudna objiesnit’ vopshchie.
(‘It is difficult to explain indeed.’)
38 **Ja jieshchio padumaju nad et’im voprosom**.
(‘I will think more about it.’)
39 R. Mhm.
(‘Mm’)
40 R. A vot etot vopros ja bi chotiela chtobi vi s muzom otvietili.
(‘And this question, I would like, that you would discuss together with the husband‘)
41 W. Tak ja jievo pozovu.
(‘So I will call him.‘)
42 Xorosho.
(‘Ok.‘)
43 R. Mm.
(‘Mm‘)
44 W. *Pål! Kan du komme?*
(‘Pål! Can you come?‘)
<husband came into the room>
45 R. *Jeg vil at dere snakker sammen, fordi dere har forskjellige svar, kanskje.*
(‘I would like you to talk together, because you have different answers, maybe‘)
46 W. *Jeg skrev tre ting.*
(‘I wrote three things‘)
(2-seconds pause)
47 W. *Hun spurte har jeg blitt norsk etter jeg har flyttet til Norge.*
(‘She asked if I have became Norwegian‘)
(1 second pause)
48 *Jeg hadde lit Norsk accent da kommet jeg til Russland.*
(’I had a little Norwegian accent when I visited Russia’)
49 *Også også hadde jeg kanskje måtte å kle meg på som er vanlig norsk, men som*
(’Also I dressed myself as common Norwegian, but as’)
(1,3-second pause)
50 *ikke så nøye med*
(’not so carefull with’)
(1,2-second pause)
51 *Ja, sånn student antrekk litt sånn*
(’Ja, like students dress a bit like’)
(1-second pause)
52 *Ja. Ja.*
(’Yes. Yes.’)
(1,5-second pause)
53 *Det var bare det at jeg hadde sekk på ryggen min.*
(’It was just that I had a bag on my back.’)
54 H. *Jo, du er norsk.*

(’Yes, you are Norwegian.’)

55 W. ***Hvorfor det da?***

(’Why is it so?)

56 Fordi jeg snakker norsk?

(’Because I speak Norwegian?’)

57 M. ***Nei, det er ikke bare det.***

(’No, it is not just that.’)

58 ***Det er hva du gjør og***

(’It is what you do and’)

59 W. ***Men har jeg forandret meg når vi var sammen i ni år?***

(’ But have I changed while we were together for nine years?’)

60 ***Når du møttet meg ni år siden og nå liksom?***

(’ When you met me nine years ago and now somehow?’)

61 ***Var jeg mer russisk for ni år siden eller?***

(’ Was I more Russian for nine or more years ago?

(2-seconds pause)

62 H. ***Jeg vet ikke.***

(’I don’t know.’)

63 ***Nei.***

(’No.’)

64 W. ***Nei.***

(’No.’)

<everyone laughs>

65 R. ***Var hun norsk med en gang?***

(’Was she Norwegian at once?’)

66 H. ***Hun bodde i mange år for vi treffet hverandre.***

(‘She lived for many years {in Norway} before we met each other.’)

67 R. ***Å, ja.***

(‘Oh, yes.’)

(1,2-second pause)

68 R. ***Så du synes at hun er norsk eller gjør alt hva gjør norsk damme, eller ikke så stor forskjell fra norsk damme?***

(’ So do you think that she is Norwegian or does everything that Norwegian woman does, or not so much difference from the Norwegian woman?’)

69 H. ***Ja-a. Hun går jo i norske klær...***

(’Ye-es. She wears Norwegian clothes...’)

Discourse 5. RUS2 family

1. **R. Kiem vi siebia schitajietie?**

(’ What you consider yourself to be?)

2. Tol’ko ruskim?

(‘Only the Russian?’)

3. **W. Nu v vopshchiem da.**
   (' Well, generally yes.')
4. **Potomu shto moja kultura ruskaja**
   ('Because my Russian culture')
5. **ja ruskij chieloviek.**
   ('I'm Russian')
6. **Kak tam govoritsia**
   (' As there is said')
7. **chto ja #**
   ('that I')
8. ***ikke vestlig innvandrer.***
   ('non-Western immigrant')
   <laugh>

Discourse 6. LT1 family

1. **W. Čia nėra pono ir vargšo diskriminacijos.**
   ('Here is no master's and poor people discrimination')
2. **H. Tai aplamai,**
   ('This is about everything.')
3. **Kaip čia į darbą žiūri.**
   How [people] think about the job here.
4. **Kas tau Lietuvoje prieis ir pradės šnekėtis.**
   ('Who will come in Lithuania and will hold a conversation?')
5. **Čia visi #**
   ('All here:')
6. ***Hva gjør dere?***
   ('*What do you do?')*
7. ***Hva gjør dere? #***
   What do you do?
8. **Pastoviai, supranti.**
   ('All the time, you understand.')
9. **Ir vaikai, ir visi kiti**.
   ('And children, and all the others')

Discourse 7. LT1 family

1. **W. Jie labai ribotai valgo.**
   (‘The food they eat is very limited’)
2. **H. Vien tik # *brødskiver, brødskiver* ir *brødskiver*.**
   (‘*Sandwiches* alone, *sandwiches* and *sandwiches*.’)
3. **Kaip rusai tas pats, žinai.**
   (‘As the Russian, you know’)
4. **Bet rusai skaniai gamina valgyti, nors duonos daug valgo.**
   (‘But the Russians prepare food delicious, although a lot of eating bread.’)
5. **čia tai iš vis**
   (‘And here is a total’)
   (1-second pause)
6. **nežinau**
   (‘{I } don’t know’)
   (1,5-second pause)

Discourse 8. LT1 family

1. **R. Ar tu jautiesi emigrantu?**
   (‘Do you feel like emigrant?’)
2. **H. Tuo niekinamu ir engiamu emigrantu nesijaučiu.**
   (‘I don’t feel that despised and oppressed emigrant’)
   (2-seconds pause)
3. **su giminėm susitinki beveik taip pat dažnai, kaip ir gyvendamas Lietuvoje.**
   (’You meet with the relatives almost as often as when living in Lithuania’)
   (1-second pause)
4. **Rečiau biškį, bet ačiū Dievui už technologijas šiuolaikines.**
   (‘This is a little less frequently, but thanks God for a modern technology’)
   (1-second pause)
5. ***Nu sama ti ponimajiesh.***
   (‘*Well, you understand yourself*’)
   <everybody laughs>
6. **R. Nežinau, man tai gerai Lietuvoj buvo.**
   (‘I do not know, for me it was good in Lithuania’)

Discourse 9. LT5 family

1. **W. Tai du tuos pagrindinius dalykus norėjau pasakyti.**
   (‘These were the two main things I wanted to say’).
2. **R. Nu, tai gerai, tai dėkui už pokalbį.**
   (‘Well, it's good, thank you for the interview’)
3. **R.** ***Vi har snakket om identitetet. Hva bestemmer identitetet.***
   (‘We've talked about identity. What determines identity’)
4. **H.** ***Oo, identitetet***
   (’Oo, identity’)
   (1-second pause)
5. ***Det er hvordan man var vokst opp*****.**
   (‘That's how you were raised’)
6. R**.** ***Ikke språk?***
   (’Not language?’)
7. **H.** ***Nei, det ikke***
   (’No, it {is} not’)
   (1-second pause)
8. **H.** ***Det er bare tilfeldighet at vi snakker norsk.***
   (‘It's just coincidence that we speak Norwegian’)
9. **R. [*****Men*****]**
   (‘But ‘)
10. **H. [*****Først*****] *snakket vi dansk, så snakket vi svensk.***
    (‘First we spoke Danish, then we spoke Swedish’)
11. **R.** ***Ok. Var dere norske likevel?***
    (‘Ok. Were you Norwegian anyway?’
12. **H.** ***Det***
    (‘It ‘)
    (1,5-second pause)
13. **W. Nori dar vaflio?**
    (‘Do you want more vaffle?’)
14. **R. Mhm (.) Ačiū.**
    (‘Mhm. Thank you’)
15. **S. Nėra už ką.**
    (‘Not at all’)
16. **H.** ***Det var veldig sånn***
    (’It was very like that’)
    (1,5 second pause)
17. **H.** ***nasjonalitet***
    (‘nationality‘)

QUESTIONNAIRES

Klausimynas 1

Užpildyk šią anketą:

1. Moteris □ Vyras □

2. Amžius

3. Šeimyninė padėtis

4. Tautybė

5. Sutuoktinio / sugyventinio tautybė

6. Kiek laiko gyveni Norvegijoje?

7. Kodėl atvykai į Norvegiją?

8. Koks tavo išsilavinimas?

9. Ar turi vaikų? Kiek?

10. Kokiomis kalbomis gali kalbėti?

	truputį	gana gerai	gerai	labai gerai	tobulai
anglų	□	□	□	□	□
lietuvių	□	□	□	□	□
rusų	□	□	□	□	□
norvegų	□	□	□	□	□
kita (parašyk)_____	□	□	□	□	□

11. Kokiomis kalbomis moki rašyti?

	truputį	gana gerai	gerai	labia gerai	tobulai
anglų	□	□	□	□	□
lietuvių	□	□	□	□	□
rusų	□	□	□	□	□
norvegų	□	□	□	□	□
kita (parašyk)_____	□	□	□	□	□

12. Kokiomis kalbomis gali skaityti?

	truputį	gana gerai	gerai	labai gerai	tobulai

anglų	□	□	□	□	□
lietuvių	□	□	□	□	□
rusų	□	□	□	□	□
norvegų	□	□	□	□	□
Kita (parašyk)_____	□	□	□	□	□

13. Kokias kalbas gali suprasti?

	truputį	gana gerai	gerai	labai gerai	tobulai
anglų	□	□	□	□	□
lietuvių	□	□	□	□	□
rusų	□	□	□	□	□
norvegų	□	□	□	□	□
kita (parašyk)_____	□	□	□	□	□

14. Kokia tavo gimtoji kalba?

15. Kokią kalbą / kalbas vartoji darbe?

16. Kokią kalbą / kalbas vartoji laisvalaikiu?

17. Tu kalbi lietuviškai su

	labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
kaimynais	□	□	□	□	□
draugais	□	□	□	□	□
parduotuvėje	□	□	□	□	□
įstaigos darbuotojais	□	□	□	□	□
gydytojais	□	□	□	□	□
šeimos nariais	□	□	□	□	□

18. Kur ir kaip mokeisi norvegų kalbos?

19. Ar norėtum kokią nors kalbą išmokti geriau?

20 Jei taip, kokią? Kodėl?

21. Tu kalbi norvegiškai su

	labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
kaimynais	□	□	□	□	□
draugais	□	□	□	□	□

parduotuvėje	□	□	□	□	□
įstaigos darbuotojais	□	□	□	□	□
gydytojais	□	□	□	□	□
šeimos nariais	□	□	□	□	□

22. Ar norėtum, kad tavo vaikas / vaikai turėtų ”morsmålsundervisning”? Kodėl?

23. Ar tavo vaikas / vaikai moka lietuviškai?

24. Kokia kalba tau priimtiniausia kalbėti su vaiku? Kodėl?

25. Kokia kalba tavo vaikui / vaikams labiausiai patinka kalbėti su tavimi?

26. Kokia kalba tavo vaikui / vaikams labiausiai patinka kalbėti su draugais?

27. Ar viename pokalbyje vartoji kelias kalbas?

Jei taip, tai kokiais atvejais tu tai darai?

Kodėl

28. Tu skaitai knygas lietuvių kalba:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

29. Tu skaitai knygas norvegų kalba:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

30. Tu skaitai knygas anglų kalba:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

31. Tu klausaisi lietuviškų dainų:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

32. Tu klausaisi lietuviško radijo:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

33. Tu žiūri lietuviškus filmus:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

34. Tu žiūri lietuvišką televiziją:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

35. Tu klausaisi norvegiškų dainų:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

36. Tu klausaisi norvegiško radijo:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

37. Tu žiūri norvegiškus filmus:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

38. Tu žiūri norvegišką televiziją:

labai dažnai	dažnai	retai	labai retai	niekada
□	□	□	□	□

39. Išvardink 10 žodžių, kas tu esi

40. Išvardink 10 žodžių, kuo tu norėtum būti

41. Kas tu jautiesi esąs?

lietuvis □
europietis □
norvegas □
pasaulio pilietis □
sunku pasakyti □
kita (parašyk)_____

42. Kas, tavo manymu, nulemia asmens tapatybę?
kalba □

šeimos kilmė □
tai, kaip žmogus buvo išauklėtas □
kultūra , kurią žmogus pasirenka □
šalies, iš kurios žmogus kilęs, istorija □
kita_(parašyk) _____ □

43. Ar kyla kokių nors problemų dėl to, kad norvegiškai šneki su akcentu?

44. Kokia kalba, tavo manymu, yra pati gražiausia?

45. Kokia kalba Norvegijoje reikalingiausia? Kodėl?

46. Ar svarbu mokėti gimtąją kalbą? Kodėl?

47. Ką tu rekomenduotum aplankyti Lietuvoje? Aprašyk tai

48. Kas tau patinka Norvegijoje?

Klausimynas 2

Užpildyk šią anketą:

1. Mergaitė □ Berniukas □

2. Amžius

3. Tautybė

4. Kiek laiko gyveni Norvegijoje?

5. Kokioje šalyje gimei?

6. Kokioje šalyje gimė tavo mama?

7. Kokioje šalyje gimė tavo tėtis?

8. Kokia kalba ar kalbomis jūs šnekate namuose?

9. Kokia kalba šnekate namuose dažniausiai?

10. Kokias kalbas (*parašyk*) tu

	truputį	gana gerai	gerai	labai gerai	tobulai
supranti					
gali kalbėti					
gali skaityti					

11. Kokią kalbą / kalbas tu vartoji mokykloje?

12. Kokia kalba kalbi su

mama

tėčiu
jaunesniu broliu / seserim
vyresniu broliu / seserim
seneliais
geriausiais draugais

13. Kokia tavo gimtoji kalba?

14. Kokia kalba tu pradėjai kalbėti pirmiausia?

15. Kokia kalba tu pradėjai skaityti pirmiausia?

16. Kokia kalba tu pradėjai rašyti pirmiausia?

17. Kokią kalbą tu moki geriausiai?

18. Kokia kalba tau labiausiai patinka kalbėti?

19. Kokias kalbas tu mokaisi mokykloje?

20. Kokią dar kalbą norėtum išmokti?

21. Ar mokaisi dar kokios nors kalbos po pamokų? Jei taip, ar tau tai patinka?

Kodėl?

22. Kokia kalba žiūri televiziją?

23. Ar norėtum kokią nors kalbą išmokti geriau?

Jei taip, kokią?

Kodėl?

24. Ar mokykloje turėjai ”morsmålsopplæring”?

Jei taip, tai kiek laiko?

25. Kokia kalba / kalbomis su tavimi kalbasi

mama
tėtis
seneliai
brolis / sesuo

26. Ar viename pokalbyje vartoji kelias kalbas?

Jei taip, tai kokiais atvejais tu tai darai?

Kokias kalbas vartoji tame pačiame pokalbyje?

Kodėl?

27. Tu skaitai knygas lietuvių kalba:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

28. Tu skaitai knygas norvegų kalba:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

29. Tu skaitai knygas anglų kalba:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

30. Tu klausaisi lietuviškų dainų:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

31. Tu klausaisi lietuviško radijo:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

32. Tu žiūri lietuviškus filmus:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

33. Tu žiūri lietuvišką televiziją:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

34. Tu klausaisi norvegiškų dainų:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

35. Tu klausaisi norvegiško radijo:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

36. Tu žiūri norvegiškus filmus:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

37. Tu žiūri norvegišką televiziją:

labai dažnai dažnai retai labai retai niekada

□ □ □ □ □

38. Parašyk 10 žodžių kas tu esi

39. Parašyk 10 žodžių, kuo tu norėtum būti

40. Kas tu jautiesi esąs?

lietuvis □
europietis □
norvegas □
pasaulio pilietis □
sunku pasakyti □
kita (parašyk)

41. Kas, tavo manymu, nulemia asmens tapatybę?
kalba □
šeimos kilmė □
tai, kaip žmogus buvo išauklėtas □
kultūra , kurią žmogus pasirenka □
šalies, iš kurios žmogus kilęs, istorija □
kita_(parašyk)

42. Ar kyla kokių nors problemų dėl to, kad norvegiškai šneki su akcentu?

43. Kokia kalba, tavo manymu, yra pati gražiausia?

44. Kokia kalba Norvegijoje naudingiausia?

Kodėl?

45. Ar svarbu mokėti gimtąją kalbą? Taip □ Ne □

Kodėl?

46. Kokia kalba norėtum kalbėti su savo vaikais

47. Kur norėtum gyventi, kai tau bus 40 metų? Kodėl?

Анкета 1

Заполните анкету

1. Женщина □ мужчина □

2. Возраст

3. Семейное положение

4. Национальность

5. Национальность мужа / сожителя

6. Как долго Вы живёте в Норвегии?

7. По каким причинам Вы приехали в Норвегию?

8. Какое Ваше образование?

9. Есть ли у Вас дети? Сколько?

10. На каких языках Вы можете говорить?

	Немного	неплохо	хорошо	очень хорошо	свободно
английском	□	□	□	□	□
литовском	□	□	□	□	□
русском	□	□	□	□	□
норвежском	□	□	□	□	□
другим (напишите)	□	□	□	□	□

11. На каких языках Вы умеете писать?

	Немного	неплохо	хорошо	очень хорошо	свободно
английском	□	□	□	□	□
литовском	□	□	□	□	□
русском	□	□	□	□	□
норвежском	□	□	□	□	□
другом (напишите)	□	□	□	□	□

12. На каких языках Вы умеете читать?

	Немного	неплохо	хорошо	очень хорошо	свободно
английском	□	□	□	□	□
литовском	□	□	□	□	□
русском	□	□	□	□	□
норвежском	□	□	□	□	□
другим (напишите)	□	□	□	□	□

13. Какие языки Вы можете понимать?

	Немного	неплохо	хорошо	очень хорошо	свободно
английский	□	□	□	□	□
литовский	□	□	□	□	□
русский	□	□	□	□	□

норвежский	□	□	□	□	□
другой (напишите)	□	□	□	□	□

14. Какой Ваш родной язык?
15. На каком языке / языках Вы говорите на работе?
16. На каком языке / языках Вы говорите на досуге?
17. Вы говорите по-русски

	очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
с соседями	□	□	□	□	□
с друзьями	□	□	□	□	□
в магазине	□	□	□	□	□
в учреждении	□	□	□	□	□
с врачами	□	□	□	□	□
с членами семьи	□	□	□	□	□

18. Когда и как Вы учились норвежскому языку?

в школе	□
на курсах	□
самостоятельно	□

19. Есть ли такой язык, который бы Вы хотели лучше освоить?
    Какой? Почему?
20. Вы говорите по-норвежски

	очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
с соседями	□	□	□	□	□
с друзьями	□	□	□	□	□
в магазине	□	□	□	□	□
в учреждении	□	□	□	□	□
с врачами	□	□	□	□	□
с членами семьи	□	□	□	□	□

21. Хотели бы Вы, чтобы Ваши дети получали "morsmålsopplæring" в школе?
    Почему?
22. Владеют ли Ваши дети русским языком?

23. Какой язык Вам наиболее приемлем в общении с детьми? Почему?

24. На каком языке Ваши дети предпочитают говорить с Вами?

25. На каком языке Ваши дети предпочитают говорить с друзьями?

26. Используете ли Вы два или больше языков в одном разговоре?

Если да, в каких случаях Вы это делаете?

На каких языках Вы говорите в том разговоре?

Почему?

27. Как часто Вы читаете книги на русском языке?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

28. Как часто Вы читаете книги на норвежском языке?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

29. Как часто Вы читаете книги на английском языке?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

30. Как часто Вы слушаете русские песни?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

31. Как часто Вы слушаете русское радио?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

32. Как часто Вы смотрите фильмы на русском языке?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

33. Как часто Вы смотрите российское телевидение?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

34. Как часто Вы слушаете норвежские песни?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

35. Как часто Вы слушаете норвежское радио?

очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
□	□	□	□	□

36. Как часто Вы смотрите фильмы на норвежском языке?

очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
□	□	□	□	□

37. Как часто Вы смотрите норвежское телевидение?

очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
□	□	□	□	□

38. Напишите 10 вариантов, кто Вы есть

39. Напишите 10 вариантов, кем бы Вы хотели быть

40. Кем Вы себя считаете?

русским □
европейцем □
норвежцем □
гражданином мира □
трудно сказать □
другим (напишите)_____

41. Что, по-вашему, определяет идентичность личности?

язык □
происхождение семьи □
полученное воспитание □
культура, которую человек воспринимает □
история его родной страны □
другое (напиши) _____

42. Возникают ли у Вас какие-нибудь проблемы из-за того, что Вы говорите по-норвежски с акцентом?

43. Какой язык Вы считаете самым красивым?

44. Какой язык, по-вашему, является наиболее нужным в Норвегии? Почему?

45. Как Вы думаете, важно ли знать родной язык? Почему?

46. Что бы Вы посоветовали посетить в России? Напишите.

48. Что Вам нравится в Норвегии?

Анкета 2

Заполните анкету

1. Девочка □ Мальчик □

2.Возраст

3. Национальность

4. Как долго вы живёте в Норвегии?

5. В какой стране ты родился / родилась?

6. В какой стране родилась твоя мама?

7. В какой стране родился твой отец?

8. На каком языке / языках вы говорите дома?

9. На каком языке чаще всего вы говорите дома?

10. На каких языках ты можешь

	немного	неплохо	хорошо	очень хорошо	свободно
говорить					
читат					
понимать					

11. На каком языке / языках ты говоришь только в школе?

12. На каком языке ты говоришь с

мамой

папой

младшим братом / сестрой

старшим братом / сестрой

дедушкой и бабушкой

друзьями

13. Какой твой родной язык?

14. На каком языке ты начал говорить в первую очередь?

15. На каком языке ты начал читать в первую очередь?

16. На каком языке ты начал писать в первую очередь

17. Каким языком ты владеешь лучше всего?

18. На каком языке ты предпочитаешь говорить?

19. Какие языки ты изучаешь в школе?

20. Какие еще языки ты хотел бы изучить?

21. Изучаешь ли ты какой-нибудь язык вне школы?

Если да, нравится ли тебе это? Почему?

22. На каком языке ты смотришь телевизор?

23. Есть ли язык, который ты хотел / хотела бы лучше освоить?

Если да, какой? Почему?

24. Получал ли ты "morsmålsopplæring" в школе? Если да, как долго?

25. На каком языке / языках говорит с тобой

мама

папа

дедушка / бабушка

брат / сестра

26. Используешь ли ты два или больше языков в одном разговоре?

Если да, в каких случаях ты это делаешь?

К каким языкам ты прибегаешь?

Почему ты это делаешь?

27. Как часто ты читаешь книги на русском языке?

очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
□	□	□	□	□

28. Как часто ты читаешь книги на норвежском языке?

очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
□	□	□	□	□

29. Как часто ты читаешь книги на английском языке?

очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда
□	□	□	□	□

30. Как часто ты слушаешь русские песни?

очень часто	часто	редко	очень редко	никогда

□ □ □ □ □

31. Как часто ты слушаешь русское радио?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

32. Как часто ты смотришь фильмы на русском языке?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

33. Как часто ты смотришь телевидение на русском языке?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

34. Как часто ты слушаешь норвежские песни?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

35. Как часто ты слушаешь норвежское радио?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

36. Как часто ты смотришь фильмы на норвежском языке?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

37. Как часто ты смотришь телевидение на норвежском языке ?

очень часто часто редко очень редко никогда

□ □ □ □ □

38. Напиши 10 слов, кто ты есть

39. Напиши 10 слов, кем бы ты хотел / хотела

40. Кем ты себя считаешь?

русским □

европейцем □

норвежцем □

гражданином мира □

трудно сказать □

другое (напиши)_____

41. Что, по-вашему, определяет идентичность личности?

язык □

происхождение семьи □

полученное воспитание □

культура, которую человек воспринимает □

история его родной страны □

другое (напиши) _____

42. Возникают ли у тебя какие-нибудь проблемы из-за того, что ты говоришь по-норвежски с акцентом?

43. Какой язык ты считаешь самым красивым?

44. Какой язык, по-твоему, является наиболее нужным в Норвегии? Почему?

45. Как ты думаешь, важно ли знать родной язык? Почему?

46. На каком языке ты хотел / хотела бы говорить со своими детьми?

47. Где бы ты хотел / хотела жить, когда тебе будет 40 лет? Почему?

Questionnaire 1

Fill out the form below:

1. Woman □ Man □

2. Age

3. Marital status

4. Nationality

5. What is nationality of your wife/husband?

6. How long have you been in Norway?

7. Why did you come to Norway?

8. What is your education?

9. Have you got any children? How many?

10. What languages can you speak?

	a little	quite good	good	very good	fluent
English	□	□	□	□	□
Lithuanian	□	□	□	□	□
Russian	□	□	□	□	□
Norwegian	□	□	□	□	□
other_____	□	□	□	□	□

11. What languages can you write?

	a little	quite good	good	very good	fluent
English	□	□	□	□	□
Lithuanian	□	□	□	□	□
Russian	□	□	□	□	□
Norwegian	□	□	□	□	□
other_____	□	□	□	□	□

12. What languages can you read?

	a little	quite good	good	very good	fluent
English	□	□	□	□	□
Lithuanian	□	□	□	□	□
Russian	□	□	□	□	□
Norwegian	□	□	□	□	□
other_____	□	□	□	□	□

13. What languages can you understand?

	a little	quite good	good	very good	fluent
English	□	□	□	□	□
Lithuanian	□	□	□	□	□
Russian	□	□	□	□	□
Norwegian	□	□	□	□	□
other_____	□	□	□	□	□

14. What is your mother tongue?

15. What language(s) do you use at your job?

16. What language(s) do you use in your free time?

17. You speak Russian/Lithuanian with

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
your neighbours	□	□	□	□	□
friends	□	□	□	□	□
in the shop	□	□	□	□	□
with the office workers	□	□	□	□	□
doctors	□	□	□	□	□

your family members	□	□	□	□	□

18. Where and how have you learned Norwegian language?

19. Is there any language you would like to learn more?

20. If it is one: What would you like to learn?Why?

21. You speak Norwegian with

	very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
your neighbours	□	□	□	□	□
friends	□	□	□	□	□
in the shop	□	□	□	□	□
with the office workers	□	□	□	□	□
doctors	□	□	□	□	□
your family members	□	□	□	□	□

22. Would you like that your child (children) would have ”morsmålsundervisning”? Why?

23. Can your child (children) mother tongue?

24. What language do you prefer to speak with your child? Why

25. What language does your child (children) prefer to speak with you?

26. What language does your child (children) prefer to speak with his friends?

27. Do you use two or more languages in one conversation? If yes: When do you do it?

What languages do you mix?

Why do you do it?

28. How often do you read Lithuanian/Russian books?

very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
□	□	□	□	□

29. How often do you read Norwegian books?

very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
□	□	□	□	□

30. How often do you read English books?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

31. How often do you listen to Lithuanian/Russian songs?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

32. How often do you listen to Lithuanian/Russian radio?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

33. How often do you watch Lithuanian/Russian movies?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

34. How often do you watch Lithuanian/Russian TV?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

35. How often do you listen to Norwegian songs?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

36. How often do you listen to Norwegian radio?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

37. How often do you watch Norwegian movies?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

38. How often do you watch Norwegian TV?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

39. Write 10 words, who you are

40. Write 10 words, who you would like to be

41. What do you feel you are:

Lituanian/Russian □
European □
Norwegian □
World citizen □
it is hard to say □
other_____ □

42. What do you think describes identity?
language □
origin of the family □
how man was brought up □
culture he prefers □
other_____ □

43. Have you got any problems that you speak Norwegian with an accent?

44. What language do you find the most beautiful?

45. What language do you find the most useful in Norway? Why?

46. Is it important to know mother tongue? Why?

47. What would you recommend to visit in your home land? Describe it.

48. What things do you like in Norway?

Questionnaire 2

Fill out the form below:

1. Girl □ Boy □

2. Age

3. Nationality

4. How long have you been in Norway?

5. In what country where you born?

6. In what country where your mother born?

7. In what country where your father born?

8. What language or languages do you use at home?

9. What language do you use the most at home?

10. What languages you

	a little	quite good	good	very good	fluent
understand					

can speak
can read

11. What language or languages do you use only in the school?

12. What language do you speak with your

mother
father
younger brother or sister
older brother or sister
grandparents
best friends

13. What is your mother tongue?

14. What language did you start to speak first?

15. What language did you start to read first?

16. What language did you start to write first?

17. What language can you best?

18. What language do you prefer to speak?

19. What languages do you learn at school?

20. What other language would you like to learn?

21. Do you learn any language besides the school?

If yes: do you like it? Why?

22. In what language do you watch TV?

23. Is there any language you would like to learn more?

If it is one: What would you like to learn? Why?

24. Have you got ”morsmålsopplæring”?

If yes: How long?

25. What language or languages do they speak with you?

mother

father

grandparents

brother or /and sister

26. Do you use two or more languages in one conversation?

If yes: When do you do it?

What languages do you mix?

Why do you do it

27. How often do you read Lithuanian/Russian books?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

28. How often do you read Norwegian books?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

29. How often do you read English books?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

30. How often do you listen to Lithuanian/Russian songs?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

31. How often do you listen to Lithuanian/Russian radio?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

32. How often do you watch Lithuanian/Russian movies?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

33. How often do you watch Lithuanian/Russian TV?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

34. How often do you listen to Norwegian songs?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

35. How often do you listen to Norwegian radio?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

36. How often do you watch Norwegian movies?

very often often seldom very seldom never

□ □ □ □ □

37. How often do you watch Norwegian TV?

very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
□	□	□	□	□

38. How often do you listen to Norwegian songs?

very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never
□	□	□	□	□

39. What do you feel you are:

Lituanian/Russian □
European □
Norwegian □
World citizen □
it is hard to say □
other_____ □

40. What do you think describes identity?

language □
origin of the family □
how man was brought up □
culture he prefers □
other_____ □

41. Have you got any problems that you speak Norwegian with an accent?

42. What language do you find the most beautiful?

43. What language do you find the most useful in Norway? Why?

44. Is it important to know mother tongue? Why?

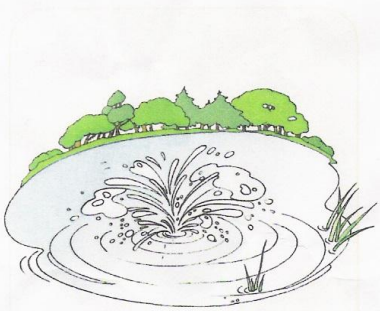
45. What language would you like to speak with your children?

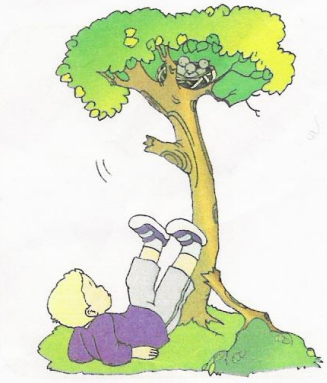
46. Where would you like to live when you will be 40 years old? Why?

Pictures for children

RIŠLIOSIOS KALBOS UGDYMAS

Ką matai paveikslėliuose? Paaiškink, kas vyko anksčiau, kodėl taip atsitiko?





ĮVYKIO APLINKYBIŲ AIŠKINIMAS

Vaikas pasirenka vieną paveikslėlį ir aiškina, kodėl taip atsitiko. Skatiname sugalvoti ne vieną, bet keletą įvykio aplinkybių aiškinimų. Tie aiškinimai gali būti juokingi ar fantastiški, svarbiausia – įdomūs.